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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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THIRD EXPLOSION

MORE TO COME

[Address delivered by Delegate Robert Randell against the labor-lieutenant of the Capitalist Class, John Mitchell at the national convention of the United Mine Workers, held at Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 19,1905, and by reason of which his expulsion was moved and secured by the "Socialist", alias "Social Democratic", alias "Public Ownership" party delegate John Walker.]

Mr. President and fellow delegates: I have come to speak to you as a Colorado miner—one of the rank and file—who has grown up among the coal and metaliferous mines of the West; one who knows the history of our struggles, our trials, our suffering and our bitter defeat, and the grievous wrong John Mitchell has done us, and I am here to tell you of it.

At the time of the calling of the great strike, November 9, 1903, the miners—with the exception of the Northern Colorado district—were almost unorganized in Southern Colorado, New Mexico and Utah. The coal companies believed and boasted that their men would never strike upon a call by the United Mine Workers. But within two days after the strike call 10,000 men, or 95 per cent. of all the coal miners of Colorado, had responded to the call, and every coal mine in the state was closed. The unorganized miners came out because they had been told, because they had been led to believe, that if they struck the union miners of Northern Colorado would strike and stand by them, and altogether they would go down to defeat or forward to victory. The unorganized miners of Colorado struck because they had faith in John Mitchell; because they had faith in the United Mine Workers.

The coal companies had been taken entirely by surprise and were paralyzed. A coal famine was imminent. The great steel works at Pueblo were closed, the Denver tramway ran short of coal, and within two weeks coal went up to $12 per ton in Denver. The miners of Colorado were overjoyed; they knew that all they had to do was to sit down, be quiet, and within six weeks the state would be paralyzed by a coal famine and the public would, as in the anthracite strike, force the coal companies to make terms with the union.

At this critical period, when everything pointed to an early settlement, when complete victory was practically assured, the order was suddenly sent by Mr. Mitchell to the men in charge of the strike to go into a conference with the coal companies of Northern Colorado, and upon any terms that were offered, get the miners in that district to return to work. This order was like a thunderbolt to us. This order was against the protests of our district officers, against the advice of our national board member, Mr. Kennedy, against the advice, I believe, of every one of the national organizers, with possibly one or two exceptions, and against the protests of the rank and file of the miners of the 15th district.

Mr. Mitchell, I ask you who induced you to order the miners in Northern Colorado to return to work?

I challenge you to prove that it was the miners, the district officers, or even your own national organizers that induced you to order the Northern Colorado strike committee to go into a conference with the officials of the Northern Coal Company.

I assert that it was the Northern Coal Company, backed by the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Southern Coal Companies that asked you to force the miners of Northern Colorado to return to work. **I challenge you, Mr. Mitchell, to deny it!**

In a letter to myself District President Howells says, "Struby and Blood had more influence with John Mitchell than the pressing needs of, and all the arguments that could be brought to bear by, District 15."

Mr. Mitchell, allow me to ask you why Mr. Struby, the president of the Northern Coal Company, and Mr. Blood, the attorney for the Northern Coal Company, and the Denver Citizens' Alliance, had more influence with you than the miners and officials of the 15th district, who were gallantly fighting a battle to overthrow the brutal strength of dehumanized corporations?

Let your actions after ordering a settlement answer the question from what source you were influenced. Let your actions answer the question whether you were influenced by the good of the organization or by its enemies.

Your representatives at the behest of the Northern Coal Company, and acting under your orders, called the Northern Colorado strike committee together and went into a conference with the officials of the Northern Coal Company.

We had struck for an 8 hour day and 20 per cent. increase in wages.

The Northern Coal Company refused to give us an 8 hour day, and offered us only a few cents more per ton at Lafayette, and only a fraction of a cent more per ton at the other four camps in Northern Colorado—Louisville, Erie, Marshal and Superior. You ordered us to accept such an offer and return to work, but the northern miners refused to betray their southern brothers for a bribe of a fraction of a cent per ton.

Why, Mr. Mitchell, did you order men who had struck for an 8 hour day and 20 per cent. increase to go back to work without an 8 hour day and only a fraction of a cent increase, when everything pointed to a complete victory for the union?

A few days later the strike committee was again called together by Mr. Reams, Mr. Mitchell's representative, and James H. Blood, the attorney for the Northern Coal Company and the Denver Citizens' Alliance. Messrs. Reams and Blood induced the strike committee to take back another offer to the northern miners and recommend its acceptance.

This offer was for a few cents more per ton and an 8 hour day—**provided the southern miners won their strike.** Again Mr. Mitchell ordered us to accept this offer and return to work. Again the northern miners refused to accept, and for temporary gain, betray their fellow workmen in Southern Colorado.

In the Denver Post of November 16, 1903, is the following concerning the prominent part played by Mr. Reams to force this settlement upon us by the Northern Coal Company: "Officials of the Northern Coal and Coke Company were apprised of the presence and activity of the influence Saturday morning and acted upon the information. They at once intercepted John F. Reams, one of Mr. Mitchell's men, who was en route to Trinidad, and induced him to go back to the northern field and try to offset the effect of the powers working to defeat the settlement".

This was twice Mr. Mitchell had endeavored to force the northern miners to return to work; each time they had refused, and we supposed that you would be satisfied with the result.

But you were not. The deal had been arranged and you were determined to force it upon us.

Your next step was to order Mr. Reams to visit the different locals in Northern Colorado, and endeavor to induce them **one at a time to go on record as favoring a settlement**—a thing they had refused to do in a body. An act and a policy that no one but an autocrat can approve of; an act that was the work of disruption and not of true unionism.

Our District President, Mr. Howells, having heard of such underhand work, called a mass meeting at Louisville. Nearly every miner in the nothern field was present at the mass meeting, and all day we heard the question of returning to work argued by Mr. Reams, District President Howells and Mother Jones.

Mr. Reams strongly urged us to return to work, and read a telegram from Mitchell, Lewis and Wilson advising us to go back to work.

President Howels, who through his long experience in the Colorado coal fields, perfectly understood the situation, urged us not to return to work, saying that if we did so we would discourage and defeat the southern miners.

Mother Jones told us to use our own judgment and decide for ourselves what was best for all, but she said that the organization had led the unorganized miners of Southern Colorado to believe, that if they would only quit work and strike, the union miners of Northern Colorado would stand by them until a victory for all was won.

For going against your orders and refusing to become a party in the betrayal of the southern miners is one of the reasons why you ,Mr. Mitchell, have forced Mother Jones from the organization she has labored so faithfully to upbuild. Mr. Mitchell, Mother Jones' white-haired head will soon be laid at rest; her voice so eloquent to plead the cause of the oppressed will soon be hushed; her heart that beat so warmly in sympathy for suffering humanity will be stilled in death. But when she is laid forever in the grave, no one can say that she ever betrayed, that she ever played false, the toiling and disinherited masses who are fighting the battle for labor's emancipation.

The mass meeting voted 2 to 1 to remain on strike. This made the third time, not counting Mr. Reams' abortive attempt, they had refused to betray the southern miners at your orders.

We supposed that you would now be satisfied with these three votes, Mr. Mitchell, but again you were determined to carry out the deal.

At this time, the Denver Citizens' Alliance became frantic, as they saw coal up at $12 per ton in Denver. The Denver Citizens' Alliance realized that unless something was quickly done to get the northern miners back to work, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Victor Fuel Company, the two companies controlling Southern Colorado, would be forced to surrender. Should the coal companies of Southern Colorado be forced to surrender and make terms with the union it would mean a defeat for the Citizens' Alliance, Peabody and the Mine Owners' Association. With their defeat it would have placed the Cripple Creek and Telluride miners upon the road to victory. It would have meant a victory for both the coal and metaliferous miners of the West and the rout and ruin of Peabodyism, Parryism and militarism.

To give you an idea of how the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Victor Fuel Company and the Northern Coal Company were playing the northern miners against the southern miners, let me quote from a statement made by Charles Billington, of Erie, at the last annual convention of District 15. He is no friend of mine, but an admirer of John Mitchell. He was district executive board member for Northern Colorado during the strike, a member of the strike committee and did every thing possible to carry out Mr. Mitchell's policy.

On page 52 of the Report of Fourth Annual Convention of District 15, he says:

"I believe at the time that the northern coal companies were in conference with us to bring about a settlement, they were also conferring with the large companies of the South. I have been informed that they were holding these conferences between our sessions, and I believe the matter was fixed up so as to make a reasonable settlement with us, so as to put our coal upon the Denver markets and thus help to defeat the southern miners."

But after all the recommendations made by Mr. Mitchell's representatives; after all the secret deals arranged between the southern and northern coal companies; after all the underhanded work of the Denver Citizens' Alliance through its attorney James H. Blood, the northern miners still refused to betray their southern brothers.

But John Mitchell was determined to play the only card he had left; he was determined to do what his representatives, the Northern Coal Company, the southern coal companies and the Denver Citizens' Alliance could not do.

Mr. Mitchell sent word to our district president and secretary that unless they used their influence to force the northern miners to return to work and if we persisted in remaining on strike, they would not get one cent of support from the national organization.

To prove that you made such a threat, and took such an unconstitutional means to force the northern miners to betray their fellow workmen in the south, let me quote from President Howells' report to the last Annual Convention. On page 17 he says:

"But again a demand was made that the northern field meet with their operators and accept the propositions of settlement offered, with, as I have reason to know, a threat that if they did not do so, they would be cut off from support from the national organization. This argument, if you may call it an argument, forced me to concede the settlement."

Secretary John Simpson, in a letter to myself says:

"Yes, John Mitchell did tell us that unless we settled in the northern field that they would get no support; and he did bring all the pressure to bear that he could to make us recommend that the north go to work. We did recommend, but under protest."

Then, for the fourth time, the miners of Northern Colorado were forced to vote upon the question of returning to work, and upon the fourth referendum ,having John Mitchell's threat thrown in their face, they agreed, under protest, to become a party to the betrayal of the southern miners.

The result of this unholy conspiracy was that as soon as the northern mines began producing coal the market was relieved in Denver and throughout the state, the opportunity of forcing the southern coal companies to terms was gone. The day that the northern miners returned to work, the discouraged southern miners were defeated and the strike was lost.

The Denver Citizens' Alliance, the Victor Fuel Company and the Colorado Fuel and Iron company, with the able assistance of John Mitchell, won a victory over the miners of the west that has forced them into a state of abject peonage, and closed upon them the door of hope for years to come.

Soon afterwards we in Colorado had the pleasure of a visit from John Mitchell. On December 3, 1903, he arrived at Trinidad—the centre of the southern coal field. In an adress to the miners he said, "Be peaceable, be law-abiding and strike, strike and strike until you win, if it takes five years." The miners were peaceable, they were law-abiding, and they struck, and struck, and struck for one long, bitter year; and you, Mr. Mitchell, let them starve, and starve, and starve, and go cold and naked until they were forced by hunger and suffering to return to the mines, from which they had been called by you upon the promise of support and fair dealing and finally, while you were travelling through Europe, like an aristocrat, and staying at fashionable hotels upon money furnished by the underpaid and pauperized miners of America, you withdrew the support altogether from the noble men and women of Southern Colorado, New Mexico and Utah.

You may boast of the amount of money spent in the Colorado-Utah strike and compare it with the amount per capita spent in the Anthracite strike, but let it be remembered that the conditions in the Anthracite districts are entirely different from the conditions in the Western coal fields. In the Colorado-Utah coal fields the families were ejected from their homes, making it necessary to provide tents or rent other houses; the prices of necessities range 25 per cent. higher than in Pennsylvania; no other work of any kind was obtainable by the strikers; besides the strike occurred in the winter months and coal was therefore a large item of expense.

Let me read a statement issued by District Secretary Simpson in February, 1904:

"Greeting: Fellow Members—We herewith submit to our various local unions the following financial report, giving, as accurately as possible, the amount of our indebtedness.

"It will be necessary in order to make it plain to all to go back to November 9th, 1903, the commencement of the struggle in which we are now engaged. At that time an allowance of twelve thousand dollars a week was donated to District 15 for strike purposes. That this amount was insufficient to carry on this work is evidenced by the fact that it became necessary to call upon the National Executive Board for more aid at the meeting held in Indianapolis, January 4, 1904, when $6000 additional was granted. This amount only paid our indebtedness existing at that time in part and it has been a continual struggle to hold our forces, even though we have made use of every means which could be possibly devised to procure shelter and food for the strikers.

"According to the lists prepared by local officials and sent in by them to this office, we have nineteen thousand men, women and children to care for out of twelve thousand dollars per week, making an allowance of 63 3-19 per capita for food were it possible to apply the full amount to that end.

"Other expenses were made necessary, such as rents, tents, doctors' fees, attorneys' fees, coal, etc., thus cutting down the small amount of money alloted each person weekly. Our local unions in fields where we have settlements have been very generous in the way of loaning and donating sums to help carry on the work, but the list of our creditors, and the amount of indebtedness shown, will indicate to you that the resources at our command were not sufficient to meet the demands made upon us. Had we not been able to secure credit, many would have gone cold and hungry, and what has promised from the beginning to be a winning strike, would have before now ended in confusion and certain defeat."

"John Simpson."

Let me say that the grievance the miners of Colorado, New Mexico and Utah have is not because there was not a large enough amount of money expended. In fact, I am free to say that a part of the enormous sum—$437,000—was practically thrown away. The grievance that the miners of the 15th District have is the manner in which the strike was conducted, especially in regard to forcing the northern miners to return to work, and because there was not enough money given in the months of November, December and January—the critical period. District President Howells offered Mr. Mitchell a fair proposition: that if the district be allowed to expend $300,000 they would be willing to terminate the strike one way or another at the end of the time that amount was expended.

On page 12 of the Report of the Special District Convention, held at Pueblo, Colo., June 20-23, 1904, is the following:

"Local Union 2204, Majestic, Colo. Michael Driscoll came instructed to continue the strike; women and children very badly in need of shoes and clothes, **many of them going around with gunny sacks on their feet."**

The fact is, and I challenge John Mitchell to deny it, that 19,000 men, women and children, engaged in one of the most righteous strikes that the disinherited masses of this country have ever waged, were living on $12,000 per week, or 63 cents per capita a week. Out of 63 cents per week those people who had been thrown from their homes and had in many cases lost their furniture, clothes and bedding, were compelled to buy tents or pay rent, buy food, clothes and coal. During all the long winter of 1903 and '04 19,000 men, women and children were encamped on the barren hills and in the desolated canons of Colorado, New Mexico and Utah; 19,000 men, women and children pitting their hungry stomachs against the iron power of corporate despotism; 19,000 men, women and children cold, hungry and dressed in gunny sacks, while you, Mr. Mitchell, discussed the labor question over the banquet board with Civic Federationists and the Denver Citizens' Alliance.

From November, 1903, until July, 1904, you allowed the miners of Colorado, New Mexico and Utah to starve, until one by one they had to a large extent been starved into submission. Finally, on July 1, 1904, you withdrew support altogether from the strikers.

The miners, having in district convention decided that a victory might yet be won, and some concession gained from the coal companies, decided to fight on—to go down in utter defeat if it must be, but to never surrender—and they sent solicitors throughout the East to beg assistance from the eastern miners. But, John Mitchell, to crown your infamy, you did everything possible to prevent the eastern miners from giving assistance to the Colorado-Utah strikers. I believe that if it had not been for the traitorous actions of yourself, Mr. Mitchell, the eastern miners would have been generous in response of the cry of distress from the West.

Between the rank and file of the eastern and westrn miners there is no enmity, no jealousy; we have a common cause, a common hope. The time is coming when John Mitchell and leaders of his type, who have fastened themselves like barnacles upon our organization, will be scraped off and thrown into the scrap-pile, and the coal miners of the Anthracite district, the central bituminous field and the far West; and the metaliferous miners of British Columbia, the Rocky Mountain regions, Missouri and Michigan, will be united under one standard and all together we will struggle forward to uplift the enslaved masses, and battle for the overthrow of industrial slavery.

Let me ask you, John Mitchell, does the money in the local treasuries of the United Mine Workers belong to you, that you must guard it so zealously? Let me ask you why, after you had refused to give them support, you felt impelled, by an overpowering sense of duty, to prevent the local unions from contributing?

Is it any wonder, then, that the defeated miners of Colorado, Utah and New Mexico look upon you as a greater enemy to them than are the brutal coal companies?

District Executive Board Member James D. Ritchie said at the last district convention, page 52:

"In regard to John Mitchell, I denounce him as one of the greatest autocrats I have ever seen, and the time is coming

(Continued on page two.)

SOCIALISM - POLITICAL

POINTERS

Often, speaking of affairs in America, the student of the American Labor Movement qualifies his statements with the observation, "whatever other course European conditions may dictate there." One thing and another happening in France, in Germany and now in Russia —and many more are about to follow—are pointing to the fact that the inroads of capitalism in those countries will compel there a change in Socialist tactics, and that the Movement there will have to take its cue from America —the country whose Working Class is expertest in capitalist conditions. Although the changes contribute arguments in support of the soundness of the firmly maintained principle of the Socialist Labor Party, that a posture of imitation towards Europe is not only absurd, but is harmful to the international Movement, the facts that these changes throw up are valuable to us in America in many ways. For one thing, the knowledge of inferior formations, especially in their struggle of development, is inestimable to the proper understanding of the superior ones; for another thing, and to us, at this season, most important of all, the rank and file of the Labor Movement in America is to so great an extent, and to its injury, dazzled by the froth of the Socialist vote abroad, that they are prone to slide down from the eminence of their own experience, and look for models from the inferior experience of our comrades on the European Continent. Despite all our American superior experience, furnished us by American capitalism, we here have been so steadily dragged down by Europe that we still are in the process of building—witness the Chicago Manifesto, together with the vast amount of misconceptions that the Manifesto, it is to be hoped, is an intelligent attempt at disentangling the Socialist Movement from. The recentest fact that should be of interest to us, thrown up by European events, is the passage in the Czar's proclamation in which he warns his revolted workingmen subjects on strike "not to affiliate with a movement that is not confined to economic aspirations." The warning should have a familiar ring to the American ear; a ring, however, the essence of which many have missed, and that has led to a distressing confusion of thought. Upon some, the warning has had the effect of attributing an undue importance to the political movement, and that has generally been accompanied with more or less contempt for and neglect of the economic organization; with others, at the opposite extreme, the warning, coupled with the experience of the enervating influence of parliamentarism, besides the unreliability of the polls, has superinduced a concentration of energy upon what they call "revolutionary Trades Unionism" with its inevitable accompaniment of disregard for the political organization. Between these extremes there are all manner of shades.—In other words, the American Labor Movement, furnished by capitalist society with all the bones necessary for the skeleton of its anatomy, finds itself to-day dislocated. These bones have to be set.

The political movement of Socialism is the focused rays of the class-conscious economic movement.

Socialist science, like biology, or natural sciences in general, does not concern itself about the cause of the laws it has to deal with; it concerns itself solely with ascertaining the laws. There are three sociologic laws applicable to the question, all the three unquestionable:

1st. The hustings is the field of first encounter;

2d. Right without Might is illusory; in other words, the field of physical force is an unavoidable court of second and last resort;

3d. He who can not vote right, ever will shoot wrong.

These three laws settle the unavoidableness of Political Socialism, that is, of the political organization—and not a few or slight are the conclusions that flow therefrom.

No sane man, unless he is after personal political preferment to be reached by cajoling workingmen's votes, will entertain any illusions on the integrity of the capitalist agencies at the polls in the handling of the ballots of revolutionary Socialism. The conduct of the Southern Bourbons, and the resulting Civil War are events too fresh on the public mind. At the same time, no thinking man will deny that a mass-vote against capitalism—whether actually cast and counted out, or whether wrongfully kept from being cast—will have fulfilled all the requirements, in spirit and in letter, of the sociologic law that decrees the hustings as the first court of trial. Both parties to the action will be thoroughly aware of the fact. The Working Class will know itself triumphant; the Capitalist Class will know itself defeated; and the fact will have been ascertained by the methods of civilization. The moral strength thereby imparted to the one, the moral weakness thereby inflicted upon the other are essential pleadings in the court of physical force, or of appeal, whither the defeated usurper, driven to drop the mask of legality, is, in his headlong rage, bound to summon the victor.

The mission of the political organization of Socialism comes to an end with the abandonment of the political field by Capitalism. If the Socialist Movement is not a dislocated body, the instant its political arm has been rendered unnecessary, the arm of the economic organization comes into play. If however, the Socialist Movement is dislocated, then the tide will recede—to be re-formed in ways impossible to predict' but that the course of the Roman proletariat of old may give some inkling of.

In the last analysis the issue of Political Socialism will depend in America upon the conduct of Economic Socialism —upon the Trades Union—and its conduct will, in turn, hinge upon the success achieved by Socialism in the economic organization of the Working Class. So long as the term "Unionism" can apply, as it does to-day, to guild organizations —that is to say, to bodies whose very construction necessarily exclude the bulk of the Working Class—there can not be said to be any Economic Socialist organization in existence; and so long as that is the case Political Socialism will be weak, all the weaker for the birth that such conditions promote of more or less visionary, more or less freakish, more or less fraudulent caricatures of true Political Socialism, a distinctive feature of which caricatures is official disconnection from the economic organization and individual underground connections with the warring guilds.

The passage in Frank Bohn's report of the conference that issued the Chicago Manifesto,—"This attitude (that the new economic organization is to be affiliated with no political party) on the political character of the proposed organization, prevailed with a majority of the members of the conference, because it was thought that attention should just now be riveted upon the subject of re-organization upon the industrial field. 'SOCIALISTS' (the quotation marks are Bohn's) NOT INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ARE SUPPOSED TO REMAIN AWAY FROM THE JUNE CONFERENCE"—this passage seems to denote a perfect comprehension of the situation by the conference. The passage seems to indicate, on the one hand, that the conference attaches all the importance that the subject merits to the close union of Politcial Socialism with Economic Socialism, without which the former is moon-shine; and, on the other hand, that it is clear upon the reverse of the medal, to wit, that Political Socialism, inevitable in the premises, is an impossibility without Economic Socialism is able to emit the full class-rays of the truly united Working Class, without which the latter has no place in the Labor Movement and is but a wheel in the mechanism of Capital.

BRIDGEPORT MEETINGS.

Section Bridgeport, Conn., meets each Sunday forenoon, 10.30 a. m. at their hall in the Nichols Block, Main street, near Congress. All workingmen are cordially invited.

Short but interesting discussions upon working class topics.

BELLEVILLE SOCIAL DANCE.

Social Dance to be given by the Illinois State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, at Huff's Hall, Belleville, Ill., Saturday evening, February 11, 1905. Admission 25 cents. Ladies free.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE

CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History Significance and Failure, Culminating in the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATTER.

THE TRADES UNIONISTS.

Coming to a consideration of the part played and about to be played by the trade unionists of the State, one is involved in intricacies that are only to be escaped by straight forward Socialist knowledge. Lacking that, a solution will be attempted in vain. First of all, let us take up the case of the Western Federation of Miners. For some time this organization has been noted for its progressive character. It has endorsed the principles of Socialism and urged the participation of the unions in politics. Its grand act of class solidarity, in calling the miners of Cripple Creek to the assistance of their brothers at Colorado City showed that its motto: "The injury of one is the concern of all," was not taken in vain. Yes, unquestionably the Western Federation of Miners was progressive, and this character it established to the extent that it appropriated the principles of the S. L. P and the S. T. and L. A. As such it was dreaded by the men who are now fighting it to the death, and the Gompers variety of trades unionism. To this organization was vouchsafed the grandest opportunity ever given to any considerable body of the prolitariat in the world. I know that is a tremendous thing to saay, but it is the truth: the men at the head of the organization—it is the saddest thing that I have ever written fealtered and turned from the field, and instead of a forward movement that would have carried dismay to the hearts of the enemy, they fell back and, as a consequence, have reaped nothing but defeat, doubt and despair.

In the early days of the civil war a Northern general got between the rebel army and its base. Instead of striking a blow at the very heart of the enemy he became alarmed for his own safety and fell back on Washington, thus throwing away the opportunity that, if embraced, might have ended the war at a strike, or at least, have brought the end so very much nearer.

My historical knowledge may be faulty, but the incident given illustrates perfectly the position of the Western Federation of Miners. In its first rush it carried the outworks of the enemy, and had its leaders possessed the attributes of greatness, of the genius that through the smoke and roar of the battle sees a victory just ahead, they would have set the world afire and the end of capitalism would have been in sight. But alas, when the storm broke in earnest their courage failed, and it was all over, the reaction had set in.

THE STATE FEDERATION AND "THE DEMOCRACY."

On January 11th, in response to a call issued by the State Federation of Labor, a representative gathering of union men met in Denver, and in a veritable tempest of talk, devised ways and means whereby the intolerable conditions obtaining in the State might be brought to an end. Several of the members of this committee were members of the "Socialist party."

The first fruits of this convention was the declination of certain members of the "Socialist" party to run upon the ticket in the municipal election of May 17th, in Denver. They considered themselves pledged to the action of the "Ways and Means Committee' of the special convention, and, as a result, repudiated their allegiance to the "Socialist" party in favor of the Democratic party.

"NO DICTATION."

This brings us down to the present. Now the Western Federation of Miners is reaping the reward of its cowardice in earnest. It virtually accepted the nominee of the Democratic party in order to bring about that greatly to be desired condition—the overthrow of Peabody. The Federation was informed, quite forcibly, that no dictation was to be permitted in the Democratic convention on the part of the trade unionists. It was so completely committed to the Democracy that it dared not open its mouth when every man proposed for the gubernatorial nomination was upon the best of evidence, shown to be another Peabody in all but name. Harrassed on the industrial field, enslaved by its chosen political associates, surely the Western Federation of Miners is paying the penalty for the lack of moral stamina on the part of its leaders and their slender intellectual equipment.

"THE LIBERTY LEAGUE."

There is another brood of trade unionists. These be the Gompersites. They are very much in evidence now. When the Western Federation of Miners was being slaughtered, they stood by with folded arms and consented to its death. Their's is a scbby record, none worse, and it is amusing to see men whose reputations would put a limburger cheese out of business going up and down the State demanding that "Peabody be downed," which means, in other words, that some of the fakirs are to be given office in consideration of the votes they expect to be able to deliver. They are organizing "Liberty Leagues"—some of them. I had a litttle tilt with one of them. Two months previously he had been prominent in the movement to elect John W. Springer mayor of Denver. Now he is shouting himself hoarse in denounciation of the State administration, the Citizen's Alliance, the Mine Owners Association and the Republican party, whose candidate Springer was. This man is one of our redeemers. We are to be saved again.

The organ of the "Liberty League" is the "Clarion-Advocate," edited by Max Morris, head of the Retail Clerks' Union, and T. M. Hyde. Lately they pronounced editorially upon the situation, and that they may be placed upon exhibition, I herewith reproduce some of their ruminations. The article is headed "Unions and Politics," and from it we learn that "Two hundred years of experiment in self government has not made the working classes capable of managing a political party," and —is this a self-thrown bouquet?—"The control of a political party is one of the highest arts developed by our complex civilization."

"Unions are not organized for political purposes and never will be. * * * Every union is immediately a pariah, not only toward non-union labor, the employers and the general public, but, in the last word, toward every other union.

"No amount of slush about brotherhood, class-consciousness, fraternity, etc., can destroy this cold fact."

Then the writer handles the " labor politician" pretty roughly, which is amusing, seeing that he has decided leanings that way himself. He proceeds to define the issue in the following terms, which to tell the truth, are sufficiently vague to allow him and his fellows to secure office on a platform that means nothing:

"The political issue in Colorado is not Peabody vs. the W. F. M., nor Peabody vs. the union, nor Peabody vs. the 8-hour day, but it is:

"The incimpetent and corrupt administration against the best interests of the State."

The editor doesn't like Socialists or Socialism, which is his privilege, and he draws a glowing picture of what has been accomplished by trades unionism of the old-line variety, and therefore—he doesnt say so openly, but a hint suffices—it follows that the men who have so successfully led the host on the industrial field may be safely intrusted with leadership on the field of politics, and he——.

As might be expected this article, which charitably suggests that those who decline to join the Democratic party that "Peabody may be downed,' are either corrupt or crazy, is quoted with great satisfaction by the leading Democratic journals of the State.

IS PEABODYISM THE ISSUE?

Is Peabodyism the issue? Everything points to the election of a Democrat who will, in the words of the gentleman quoted by Mr. Walling, "concede nothing to the labor element," seeing that the labor unions of the State are so completely committed to the success of the Democracy as to be helpless.

They will "down Peabody" by electing a man who may make them wish that Peabody was governor again.

John Mitchell, from whom much of the glory has departed, added fuel to this fire by denouncing the governor. "I repeat," said he, "that every person in the State should repudiate this governor, and I say, as a Republican, that the Republican party ought to repudiate him. If there's one union coal miner in Colorado that is for Peabody—I say this so far as I am concerned—he will be put out of the union. I say this with a full realization of what it means."

Mitchell's opinions are at a discount in Colorado now, and the chances are that by election day he will have no union in Colorado out of which to throw those who vote for Peabody, or any other candidate for that matter. But, taking his remarks upon their merits, we must say that he is thereby stamped as a man of small intellectual calibre. Peabody, as Peabody, is not the enemy. The capitalists made him. They use him. They "may overthrow" him to fool the people, but they have an innumerable supply of just such men in reserve, Democrats and Republicans, with whom the trick may be turned. Capitalism, of which Peabody is the creation, and of which Peabodyism is a manifestation, is the enemy, and not all the labor fakirs in the world intent upon ingratiating themselves with the exploiters can hide that fact"

THE "SOCIALIST" PARTY.

To an outsider it may seem very like the dragging in of extraneous matters by the ears to lay the deliquencies of the Western Federation of Miners at the door of the "Socialist party.' When the "Socialist' vote in Colorado jumped from nothing away into the thousands, it was pointed to as a triumph of the methods of the "S. P." over those of the S. L. P.

The means used to obtain this great vote were very simple. Get hold of the leaders of the union, and through them control of the press. Have the annual conventions endorse the "S. P." Go into the locals and convert the members by the use of methods similar to those of Methodist revivalists. For God's sake don't cross them in anything! They are all good fellows. Slap them on the back; give them a good "jolly," and the trick is done.

Yes, the scheme worked beautifully for a while. Colorado was invaded by as worthless set of grafters as ever infested a community.

With these men the enlistment of men in the cause of Socialism was as simple as the means used by the apostles of the Prophet. Let a man be able to say: "There is no God but God and Mahammet is his Prophet,' and he is at once of the elect. With the "S. P." mountebanks who proselyted in Colorado it was only necessary for a man to say: "I am a Socialist," and he immediately became one. If, perchanse, he had read the "Appeal to Reason," or other journals equally profound, or had graduated from a "Learn Socialism by mail" school, and was able to mouth some of the catch words in use, he was at once fitted to expound the doctrines. I have heard speakers whose intellect was seemingly limited to a most beautiful ennunciation of some such phrase as: "The immortal Marx and Engels" spoken of as being "strictly scientific Socialists."

The fruit of that policy is being seen to-day in all its glory. If ever a party was between the devil and the deep sea it is the "S. P." in Colorado in the year of grace, 1904. The candidacy of Judge Owers last year cut its vote to ribbons, and the campaign against Peabody threatens to rip up the rest. When we of the S. L. P. urged the necessity of thoroughly grounding men in the principles of Socialism, the reply was: "Oh, that may be deferred. Let us get them started," and they were started—to be switched over to the party of reaction at a critical moment.

The "S. P." held itself cheaply, and it is being taken at its own price. Moyer, Haywood, O'Neil and many others dropped it for the Democracy ,while the men who gave it whatever real prestige it possessed, like Eugene Engly, are out in support of the party that is not catering to union leaders for the purpose of catching votes—the S. L. P.

The "S. P." throughout the country is a party to the delinquencies of the misleaders of the union men in Colorado. Benjamin Hanford, candidate for Vice-President on the "Socialist" ticket, visited this State and wrote a book on the industrial warfare raging here, carefully refraining, however, from touching upon the desertion of the "S. P." by the W. F. M., the A. F. of L., and other bodies upon which the "good" Socialists have poured out so much much slobbering praise. The "progressive" unions of the West are as "Socialistic" as ever, but they are working might and main for the success of the Democratic ticket. Debs doesn't feel like coming to Colorado now, because he would be sat upon by his former friends. He and his followers hope by their silence to cover up the lapses of their former comrades this year in the hope that they will return to the fold next year.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

It is a pleasure to turn from the less pleasing aspect of the situation to the condition that confronts the S. L. P. For years we have struggled along under heart-breaking conditions. But the skies seem to be clearing. The revolutionary element that gave strength to the "S. P." in the past is with us to-day. A party that cannot be swept from its feet, no matter how swiftly the winds of adversity may blow, cannot fail to take its place in the hearts of those who are set upon the emancipation of the working class. The struggles of the past two years have shown us the weak places in the defenses of Capitalism. We must press forward and take advantage of what we have learned. To the man determined to achieve victory past defeat counts for little. All around us men are faltering, and to many the spectacle is a source of dismay. Let them take courage, the S. L. P. is now as of old:

"Treading, with unreluctant feet,
Rough paths of duty,"

And in its ranks is a place for every man who is for Socialism and the regeneration of humanity

THE END.

THE INFANT'S SKULL;
OR
THE END OF THE WORLD.
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Third Explosion

(Continued from page one.)

when we will have to turn him down or he will turn us down. Many of our women and children have had to wear gunny sacks on their feet, and there is much poverty in our camps. If Mitchell was doing his duty he would be here leading the strike instead of being in France, staying at a $12 a day hotel, while the miners of this district are starving. But away back yonder in the east is a man who is putting his thumb on you. I have not seen the time since the strike was first inaugurated when we could win out any better than we could now if we had the money. If we were to win this strike it would be turning down our idol. Some of the eastern people don't want him turned down."

Scofield, Utah,
January 6, 1905.

Robert Randell,
Dietz, Wyo.
Dear Sir and Brother:

John Mitchell has been a traitor against us. John Mitchell told us at the beginning of the strike of Carbon Co. that he would support us for three years if necessary, but we found out that he is a traitor; and also he said that he would stay with us, but no, he went to Europe in the month of June, 1904, and he sold himself to the company, and in the first part of December he sent a man over here to try and get us away from here by trying to give the fare to us. He has been telling us to get support whenever we can and that he would settle the bills, and these bills are about $10,000, but no. company stole our property valued at $50,000, and what is more the company has stopped the rent that we should have got from the houses, and John Mitchell has called off the strike so that he would get $20,000 for it, so that we would move away from here. The strikers from winter quarters and Clear Creek, men, women annd children, are 289 altogether. What do you think of John Mitchell in this case?

When Louis Robertie was soliciting for us strikers, John Mitchell and his officers tried to arrest Louis Robertie and told the locals of the east that the strike was called off in Carbon Co.

And if Charles De Molle was the president of the U. M. W. of A. we would have won the strike long ago. John Mitchell and his officers have arrested Charles De Molle because he knew we would win the strike if Charles De Molle was free. John Mitchell is only a bluffer and not a union man.

John Mitchell has sent a man over here and he paid our president $15 to try and get us away and to lose our property. John Mitchell should have told us at the beginning of the strike that he is only a bluffer, and he is only a traitor. We ask you to let all the brothers know that we have a big case between the strikers, John Mitchell and Company.

Yours fraternally,
(signed) John Macketa.
(Seal of Local Union No. 188 U. M. W. of A., Scofield, Utah, attached.)

Those strikers having passed through a winter of suffering as pitiful as our Valley Forge, were in the direst want of the necessaries of life. Hundreds were encamped all winter in tents on the bleak hills, and suffered from hunger and a lack of clothes, shoes and fuel. Yet, John Mitchell, the lauded labor leader, the little tin labor god of the capitalist class, spent the time he should have spent at the front leading the miners to victory in dining with Perry Belmont, Frank Robbins, "Scab Hero" Elliot, and Andrew Carnegie; dining and wining with the labor exploiters and labor crushers who have sold and enslaved American manhood, degraded American womanhood, cursed and blighted American childhood; drank champagne, dined on terrapin soup and pheasants on toast, while the men women and children whose misery and suffering have made you great were hungry, cold and naked.

I have proven:

First—That the organization, through John Mitchell, played the unorganized miners of Southern Colorado false in promising them the support of the union miners of Northern Colorado and then forcing the northern miners, against their wishes, to return to work and desert and defeat the southern miners.

Second—That in forcing the northern miners to return to work, by the threat of withdrawing support, he violated the principles and constitution of our organization, and proved himself to be an autocrat and dictator.

Third—That in promising the southern miners ample support in the strike call of November 9th, 1903, and telling them to "strike, strike and strike until you win, if it takes five years," and then in refusing them sufficient support, and finally in stopping it altogether, you **placed a shameful and disgraceful blot upon our organization, and proved yourself** to be a greater enemy to the miners of Colorado, New Mexico and Utah than the inhuman coal companies themselves.

I will now prove the charge—that in entering into an unholy deal with the Northern Coal Company at the behest of the Denver Citizens' Alliance, to force by illegal means the Northern Colorado miners to return to work, and thus defeat the southern miners; and in dining with the members of the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Peabody Law and Order League at the Chamber of Commerce in Denver, Colo., December 5, 1903, you proved yourself a traitor to the working class.

President Howells' statement that "Struby and Blood (the president of the Northern Coal Company and the attorney of the Denver Citizens' Alliance) had more influence with John Mitchell than the pressing needs of and all the arguments that could be brought to bear by District 15," and your actions in forcing the Northern Colorado strike committee into a conference against the protests of the miners and their district officers, proves that you made an unholy deal with the Northern Coal Company and its allies.

The statement made at the District Convention by Charles Billington goes to prove what we in Colorado all know to be a fact—that the southern coal companies induced the Northern Coal Company to make a settlement and got the northern mines producing coal and thus saved the southern coal companies from certain defeat.

The part played by the Denver Citizens' Alliance can be plainly seen by the fact that its attorney represented the Northern Coal Company in its conferences with the Northern Colorado strike committee and by the fact that John **Mitchell dined with the members of that** organization at a banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce in Denver, Colo., December 5, 1903.

John Mitchell having betrayed into the hands of their enemies the coal miners of the West was there to receive his reward. He dined with the members of the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Peabody Law and Order League. He fell from his high pedestal to feast with commercial brigands who have disgraced our State, outraged our people, and driven us from our homes.

In one, though in only one way, have I any respect for that dehumanized monster, Governor Peabody. He is true to his class—the capitalist class—and faithfully serves his masters. But I cannot find words to express my contempt for a man, who, having raised himself to power upon and by the suffering, struggles and misery of the working class, falls a victim to the flattery of his capitalistic mast [illegible] betrays the men who are fighting [illegible] battle to throw off the galling chains of infamous servitude.

John Mitchell, in the name of the miners of the West whom you have betrayed back into slavery, I assert that when you dined with the Denver Citizens' Alliance and the Peabody Law and Order League you proved yourself a traitor to the miners of the West.

The story has been told of an Italian striker at Scofield, Utah. For eight years that poor Italian had been putting every cent of his earnings into a house he had built upon the company's ground. When he struck he and his family were driven from their home by the brutal soldiers. One day he went to the office for what pay he still had coming. The superintendent wanted him to go back to work, telling him that unless he did **so he would forever lose his home. The** Italian in his broken English said: "No, for eight years you have stolen nearly all my wages; what little you have not stolen I have saved and built this home. Now you are going to steal my home. You can take my wages for eight years, you can take my home from my wife and children, but you cannot take my manhood."

Those are the **people—the rank and file—whose names are unknown, whose** pictures **never appear in the magazines,** who never discuss the labor question over a bottle of champagne; those who strike, lose their homes, go cold, hungry, and naked, and see their children crying in want; those are the people who are building up this organization, who are fighting the battle for the uplifting of the human race, who are striking for labor's emancipation, and not little tin **gods who are always fawning at the feet of the capitalist class for a smile from their masters.**

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J. A. Wayland's Initial Game of Bunco

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States has for its mission the capture of the political power for the purpose of by that political power revolutionizing capitalist government and putting in its place Socialist Administration. We maintain that this revolution must be brought about by the manual and mental workers, and that the fundamental step towards a union of the working class must be to base ourselves on the rock of class consciousness—that is, to understand that the interest of the working class and the interests of the capitalist class are violently antagonistic, and that all reforms like municipal ownership of industries, will result in no good to the proletariat as long as the capitalist class controls the machinery of Government. Teaching the principles of the Socialist Revolution is a delicate work, and should be conducted by the superior sense of the collective thought of the political party entrusted with the task. This is why the Socialist Labor Party advances as one of the salient principles of its organization that the Party papers must be under the control of the Party, and that the Party shall have at all times the right to determine the editorial policy of its papers. And a man who will not agree to that principle is unworthy the support of Socialists and his name is a disgrace on the lips of Socialists.

A "Free Press" Wanted.

This policy of the Party has at times been bitterly attacked by men whose ability to gather in the dollars and cents of the working class has been hampered thereby. They have cried for a "free press", meaning by that term that any one who can use a fountain pen shall have the right to come into the press of the Party and offer up his efforts at teaching the proletariat. In the last four years two of these papers have come into prominence: the "Coming Nation" and the "Appeal to Reason". "The Coming Nation" is now in the hands of a receiver, so it need not be considered here. The "Appeal to Reason" is still alive, and it is the purpose of this article to puncture the skin of its vitality. The "Appeal to Reason" is owned and edited by J. A. Wayland, of malodorous reputation in connection with the Ruskin Colony. At various times during the last two years The People has taken articles written by Wayland, and showed that they possessed neither scientific clearness or economic accuracy. This daring to analyze articles by Wayland and show that his brain matter is clotted has each time wounded his egotism, and he has said many ungentle, many and untruthful things about The People in particular and the Socialist Labor Party in general. Lately the Sections in the Middle West, some of which have given the "Appeal to Reason" a little support, have discovered masses of Wayland's economic fallacies and have been passing resolutions condemning his paper. Wayland knows that if this keeps up he is a dead duck, so he unsheatles his little dirk and starts out after gore.

I have observed that politicians always assert that everything they advocate is advocated in the interest of the working class, and that they, themselves, are not looking for anything. They are always moved by motives so high that the humble pretensions of Christ at Gallilee pale into insignificance. Even the Sherman anti-trust bill was drawn up and made a law for no other purpose than to curb the rapidity of the trusts, while the only effective purpose for which it has been used is as a club to beat the life out of labor unions. Thus Wayland in the "Appeal to Reason" for July, 1 1899, says in referring to a column of his diatribe against the Socialist Labor Party:

"I want it understood that I have no quarrel with the great body of members of the S. L. P. They have been my friends in the past and are to-day. But the bosses have been steadily trying to drive me from my chosen work for humanity, a field that I work in without money and without price, and with no hope or desire of material reward."

The statements made in the paragraph quoted are very ridiculous. Wayland knows full well that if the so-called "bosses" were not doing the work the Socialist Labor Party wants them to do and engages them to do, the "great body of the members of the S. L. P." could and would guillotine the official heads of the "bosses" in just about three weeks—in just about the time it requires to work the Party machinery for a general vote. So far as Section Washington is concerned, let it be understood once and for all that if the "bosses" let up one bit in their war on Debsism, [illegible]m, Waylandism, and all other cip[illegible] the "bosses" will receive, about the n[illegible] as the postal authorities can keep[illegible] call them, a call for a general and [illegible]lieve them of the offices they

Wayland Lives On Air.

But listen to the warbling words about working "without money and without price". Verily the fields of Kansas must be filled with manna that can be shovelled up by the barrel; for here in the East the only way under the present system the average man can live is to work for a price, and then take the price and buy meat and bread. And isn't that song about "my chosen work for humanity" a pleasant one to an acute tympanum? Isn't it? Well, it would be if you were familiar with a little of the history of the man who sings it.

The writer of this article has had for some time the habit of keeping a collection of newspaper files, magazine articles, press interviews, and other interesting information about men and women who at one time or another loom up into prominence on the horizon of the labor movement. Sometimes months go by without an opportunity to use it, and then all at once the course of events flows so rapidly that the whole collection is called into requisition at once. A few weeks ago my file of the "Coming 'Nation" enabled me to present a comprehensive account of the rise and fall, of the chicanery and rascality of that "step toward Socialism", known as the "Ruskin Colony", which is now in the hands of a receiver. Now comes Mr. Wayland and the "Appeal to Reason". For many months (ever since, in fact, the fakir Debs started his "American" movement by borrowing a full dress suit to appear before a club of New York millionaires) those of us who have kept our eyes on Wayland and his "Appeal" have discovered sundry clouds of chaff that seemed to indicate which way the wind was blowing. We believe that he was only waiting for an opportunity to attempt to dirk the Socialist Labor Party, and were hoping that something would be done to smoke him out. When we saw that a Socialist Labor Party speaker was making for Kansas City, and adjacent territory, we said to ourselves that the smoke would soon appear and that the animal would come out of his hole. And lo! the animal has come; for now Wayland announces his determination to knock the life out of the Socialist Labor Party. By the way, I wonder if Wayland has ever heard that Debs and Gordon, and Carey, and Gompers, and a score of lesser freaks, have at various times boasted of their ability to accomplish the same thing. And now let's get back to the question under consideration and discover a thing or two about Wayland, using as mediums of information those who have at one time or another been intimately associated with him.

The readers of The People will remember that in the article on the collapse of Ruskin, mention was made of the fact, that the "Coming Nation" was started in Greenburg, Indiana, by J. A. Wayland, and that it was J. A. Wayland, who engineered the Ruskin Colony as long as it was paying'—that is to say, as long as dupes with $500 apiece were flinging themselves into his arms. But the supply of fools with $500 apiece ultimately gave out, and about the time the supply gave unmistakable signs of running dry, Wayland was wise in his day and generation, and held up the colonists for enough money to start him in a well equipped newspaper business.

It will be remembered that mention was made in the same article of one A. S. Edwards, now chief billingsgate slinger for Eugene V. Debs. We are at present collecting data relative to Mr. Edwards, but will reserve the major part of his career for future treatment. In this article he will be put on the witness stand to tell what he knows regarding the prisoner in the dock—J. A. Wayland.

When Wayland started the "Coming Nation" he resorted to a trick that the fakir always resorts to—he tried to gather around him one or two men who had obtained more or less prominence through their connection with other labor organization. About that time in the Northwest, notably in Minnesota, the Populist party had taken on the aspect of being more or less of a workingman's party, and the Knights of Labor, and many of the trades unions were pushing it for all it was worth. The Populist party had also absorbed all the vissionaries the land possessed, and was looked upon by many as the torch that was to guide the oppressed out of the wilderness of the oppressors.

Among these visionaries with more or less of a reputation was A. S. Edwards; and the "Coming Nation" had not been in existence very long before Wayland got him, and according to Edwards, got him to exploit him.

Edwards Gives State's Evidence.

Soon after the first enthusiasts took hold of the colony scheme, some one smelled a rat; then others smelled the same rat; and others, till the smell became so strong that some of those who could stand it no longer, withdrew from the affair. Among the withdrawers were A. S. Edwards, one David Coates, and one Ed. E. Merritt. Shortly after his withdrawal from the land of visionaries bound for heaven by the backwoods of Tennessee, Edwards returned to Greensburg, and on Saturday, August 11, 1894, issued the first number of "Freeland". which, according to Editor Edwards, perceived "an ideal social organization, and for the purpose of attaining that ideal in practice, it will urge the people to affiliate with, and support, the People's party." "Freeland" was a five-column four-page paper, and over a page of the first issue was devoted to an article with the following suggestive head and introduction:

A STORY THAT HAD TO BE TOLD.

Why Some of "The Boys" Got Tired of Co-operation That Didn't Co-operate.

Charges Made Against Former Co-operative Proven to Be False—A Dozen Good and Sufficient Reasons Given for Their Withdrawal From the Ruskin Colony Enterprise—How Labor Was Treated.

Think'st thou there are no serpents in the world
But those who slide along the grassy sod
And sting the luckless foot that presses them?
There are those who in the paths of social life,
Do bask their spotted skins in fortune's sun
And sting the soul.

So wrote Jeanna Baillie when characterizing deceit. The fate of those who practice deception is to be forced from one expedient to another until they are entangled in a web from which it is impossible to extricate themselves. [Edwards is here alluding to Wayland.] And the victims of deception too often themselves become involved in the meshes spun by the human spider, that seeing no way they give themselves up as prey to the influences surrounding them, and through fear of exposing their own weakness, or, as they suppose, injuring a cause or principle which they hold dear remain quiet. Others, on the contrary, having in the path of life met the human serpent and felt its sting, [This is certainly hard on Wayland] are strong enough to see that weakness lies, not in yielding to deception, but resisting and exposing it, and that no good cause be harmed by "scothing the snake". The purpose of this article is not to injure, but to help the reform movement. The writer of it is the editor of "Freeland". He has been an active and aggressive advocate of the principles of the People's party since 1887. Formerly a resident of Minnesota, he canvassed that State in the campaign of 1890, when Sydney M. Owen, editor of the "Farm, Stock and Home", was candidate of the Alliance party for Governor, and again in 1892, when Hon. Ignatius Donelly was nominated by the People's party for the same office, and was a delegate in the first national convention of the party at Omaha. If in view of the statement of facts he is about to make, any friends of the reform movement or of co-operation in the United States desire to make inquiries about him, they are referred to the above named gentleman. Mr. Owen is this year the candidate of the reform forces of Minnesota for Governor; his address is Wright Block, Hennepin avenue, Minneapolis. Mr. Donelly is editor of the "Representative", Minneapolis, and letters addressed in care of that paper will reach him. The writer also for information as to his loyalty to and persistence in advancing the principles he still advocates to —

He, Too, Worked For Love.

Here Edwards prints a paragraph of the names and addresses of Minnesota Populist politicians, and closes his directory with the following significant reference and quotation:

"and finally to A. J. Wayland, of the 'Coming Nation,' who, in the issue of that paper dated May 12, 1894, said of the writer:

"Brothe Edwards ,my associate, [at that time Edwards carried the rather cumbersome title of 'Associate Editor' of the 'Coming Nation'] who edits the letters, the clippings and writes several columns weekly that bear his initials, does not do it for money. [Samuel Gompers ought certainly to join this galaxy, for we have been told that he has sacrificed his whole life in the interests of labor.] He could draw the same salary and do some of these things. But his soul, like mine, is in the work, and he does it because he loves it. And he does most excellent work. He could not do it so well if he did not love it, even if he were paid four times his present salary as a printer. Ten thousand a year could not find me a better complement to my ideas than Mr. Edwards."

Edwards' ethical nature was so sensitive that he could not resist disclaiming any intention of self-adulation by reprinting such an odoriferous bouquet of words as that, and he gives the disclaimer as follows:

"This personal reference is not made to obtrude the writer's personality upon our friends, but rather to make it easy for all interested parties to satisfy themselves as to what degrees of probability ought to be attached to certain charges made against him, which will be considered further on."

Then follows a quarter of a column of names and addresses of persons who it is claimed will testify to the honesty and sobriety of David Coates and Ed. E. Merritt, two of the other signers of the statement, and then Edwards gets down to settling his score with Wayland, and proceeds after this manner:

No. 63 of the "Coming Nation", dated July 14, 1894, contained the following brief notice:

"Messrs. A. S. Edwards, E. E. Merritt, and D. Coates have severed all relations heretofore existing with the 'Coming Nation' office. Be their future what it may, the 'One Hoss' still wishes success in any honest endeavor".

This was the first intimation the cooperators and readers of that paper had that the persons above named had any cause of grievance against J. A. Wayland. Attention is invited to the fact that the notice which was written by Wayland himself does not make and charge or give any grievance against them. The truth is that none existed. But it contains a paltry insinuation that we had done something that was not "honest". The notice was like Santo's bouquet in which was hidden the assassin's dagger.

Three considerations have impelled us to make a public statement as to the reasons for our turning back when the promised land was in sight [Edwards here refers to Ruskin, which he has recently been instrumental in putting into the hands of a receiver] and abandoning an enterprise the primary and original object of which was as dear to us as to any three co-operators in the Union.

These reasons are as follows:

First—that there has at no time been, nor is there now, any promise of real co-operation under J. A. Wayland's management.

Second—That certain wholly false and malicious charges have been made against us by J. A. Wayland or some person closely connected with him.

Third—That numerous letters received from friends in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Colorado, who have been among the most active workers for the "Coming Nation," demand, as the writers have an undoubted right to demand from somebody an explanation of the "trouble."

Fakirism Begins.

Mr. Edwards then states that he has hesitated long before acceding to these demands, but that now the time has come to speak and speak he will, after first giving "a few facts touching our individual relations with J. A. Wayland." The facts are certainly interesting, giving a comprehensive view of the man who is quoted at the beginning of this article as averring that he is and always has been working for humanity, and that he is cultivating the field and without money and without price." He has been cultivating the field out of the credulous for a number of years, and if the Socialist Labor Party does not proceed to garrotte him the Party itself ought to be garrotted. The individual relations are given in the following touching paragraphs:

"D. C. Coates joined Wayland in June, 1893, five weeks after the publication of the first number of the "Coming Nation." He (Coates) affirms that the representation made to him by Wayland was that the profits of the business would be equally divided in wages: this he did on more than one occasion, at one time declaring: 'I am just that—the profits will be divided equally: If your share is $100 a week, you will get $100.' That upon this representation he (Coates) engaged to work for Wayland at a low weekly wage, just enough to support himself and family, believing at that time that the profit-sharing plan would be carried into effect: that within three months of the time he began work the business was making profits, but that he never shared in them; that as the business increased and became more profitable Wayland, instead of sharing the profits, began to look about for some way of using the surplus, finally, in November, 1893, hitting upon the scheme of a 'co-operative village.' To the new idea he (Coates) gave his adherence and worked faithfully to insure its success. Under the new plan he was told by Wayland repeatedly that the office plant would be common property and that the surplus values of his labor were being invested; but in the meanwhile, that is between the time the office began to clear expenses and when it showed receipts largely exceeding expenditures, a company was formed and incorporated and that ninety-seven per cent. of the stock (100 shares at $10 each) of the company was issued in favor of Mrs. Etta Wayland, wife of J. A. Wayland. One share of this stock was issued to said Coates; its face value was $10, and this amount Wayland had the effrontery to pay Coates for assigning it to him in July, 1894, thirty days after declaring in the presence of Edwards and Merritt that the value of the 'Coming Nation' was $100,000. If this last statement was true then the one share of stock held by Coates was worth $1,000; Coates had, by his labor and the faithful discharge of his duties, made it worth that and any man actuated by principles of justice and made 'pure and good and wise' by the study of John Ruskin, would see to it that he got no less."

Poor Coates! His failure to get profits reminds me of a story I once heard relative to the race problem. A white man said to a negro: "Come on, colored man, let's go hunting on the cahoots plan." They went, and during the day bagged considerable game. At evening when returning they came to the cross-roads where the route to their homes diverged. and the white man, who carried the game bag said: "Well, good night, colored man." The colored man scratched his head for a second and then said: "Hold on there, white man, what part of the game do I get?" "Oh," replied, with dignity, the Caucasian, "you get the 'cahoot's.'" Coates got the "cahoots."

Wayland was at this time singing the same song about laboring for humanity that he is singing to-day. Its melodies caught the ear of A. S. Edwards hundreds of miles away, and one bleak and dreary week in January, 1894, he walked into Wayland's sanctum at Greensburg. Edwards tell of his experience in this thrilling manner:

"He entered with zeal upon the discharge of his duties both as printer and contributor to the columns of the paper. He looked forward to a life in the colony with pleasure; he expected to aid in building up the town of Ruskin—which he named—under the by-laws of the Ruskin Co-operative Association, which he wrote. He was made foreman of the office of the 'boys' and always had and still retains, so far as he knows, the respect of everybody connected with the office with one exception. He has never exerted himself to win the respect of shallow upstarts or arrogant hypocrites. He had only his labor, his zeal, his love for the work in which he was engaged, and does not hesitate to say that though he had a brain as dry as a biscuit after a summer's voyage, if he could have supplemented that with money, he would still be building air castles, and listening to J. A. Wayland's verbiage about co-operation. He believes that Wayland would, in his average mood, turn away from the gates of Ruskin a penniless man with the heart of Christ and the brain of Plato to make room for a natural fool with $500 in money. The fool would not remain long, either, and when left would be minus his $500, and it would be done with such protestations of 'love for man and hatred of robbers' that the evicted co-operator would feel he was doing the cause of humanity considerable service by departing in peace. And, finally, he feels that not to speak out where there are questions of right and 'fair dealing' involved—in which so many honest and confiding men are concerned—would be a gross neglect of the plainest duty, an abandonment of principles, a surrender to cant and hypocrisy."

Wayland as a Labor Skinner.

After writing the above "personal opinions" Edwards rests a little, then dips his pen into red ink, and draws up the indictment of Wayland (who "works without money and without price") in the following pungent paragraphs :

It has been said that one of the reasons impelling us to make this statement is that there has been at no time, nor is there now, any promise of real co-operation under Wayland's management. In support of this we say—

He altogether lacks the basis of character and education necessary to successful co-operation.

That the kind of people he wants about him are "slaves" to work and "savers" to "skin."

That he has money-mania, and with all his alluring professions in type, his confirmed love of money bars out the inward excellence of a virtuous mind.

That his chief mental trait, plausibility, and his constant aim how to appear to be right.

That he persistently represented, in the paper to readers at a distance and in person to visitors at the office, that "the boys" were actually and truly part and equal owners in the business, that the plant belonged to them, when, as a matter of fact, he never intended that "the boys" should get out of it the values, or an infinitesimal part of the values, which their labor had created. This was shown in the profit-sharing chimera with Coates as a victim.

That the following editorial statement in the "Coming Nation" for June 16 was wholly and unqualifiedly false: "I have given the office over to the association." There was no "association" to "give the office over to" except the Ruskin Co-operative Association, and the publication of this untrue statement was, we firmly believe, made to create the impression "on the outside" that the "office" had actually "been turned over" to a part or the whole body of co-operators.

That this statement, contained in the issue of February 24, was false and intended to deceive and elate the co-operators: "I have already some ten publications to start with." He at no time, before or since, had that number of publications, except in his mind. In June, a bona fide publication, "Ruskin Magazine," containing "Things As I See Them," was issued, and of that A. S. Edwards was the originator and compiler. The brief preface to that book shows that the compiler tried to cheat himself into believing in a will-o'-the-wisp in the interest of harmony and the colony.

The above charges were certainly vivid enough to have made Wayland see stars, but Edwards is not through with him yet, and to eternally down him he is proven to be an exploiter of labor and a crook generally. Listen to this charge:

"That Wayland was and is an exploiter of labor and treated many persons in the office with shameful disregard of the principles he habitually sifted into the columns of the paper. Beyond the proof of this already given, we state that Ellis Hearne, a faithful, competent, and honest young man, resident of this city, was for nearly a year employed in the press room; that he was paid $1 a day and earned more than twice that amount on the assurance given him by Wayland that he would go to the colony—that is to say, working for the lowest living wage was the picklock to Ruskin. In the early part of June it became necessary to employ another man to do the same kind of work on which Hearne was engaged. A. E. Baumgart, of Akron, Ohio, was sent for, being told that if he had no money to 'come on as freight.' He came, went to work and was paid $9 a week—$1.50 a day—with the assurance that he, too, would become a member of the colony. Time passed and Hearne learned that Baumgart was drawing $3 more a week than himself for doing the same work. He complained, as was his right, and was told that the reason Baumgart got more money was because he was not going to the colony! But Baumgart carried a letter which promised him membership in the colony. We have no objection to a flea, but we do object to the business in which the pesky thing is engaged. 'Now you see it, and now you don't see it.'"

Wayland and "Bossism."

Wayland in his disreputable "Appeal to Reason" is vituperative about the officials of the Socialist Labor Party because the members of the Party insist on discipline from the ground up. Because they thus carry out the commands of the Party they are "bosses." And he objects to being bossed. Edwards has given eight reasons for not liking the colony while Wayland was at the head of it, and brings the number up to twelve by adding the following four. It will thus be seen that in those days Wayland had an idea that it would be a good thing to be a boss himself, and the difficulty with the fakir is that he can't find the people that will submit to his bossism for a very long time, because the bossism of Wayland has long fingers, and the ends of them are loaded with magnets that have an attraction for money. The concluding four charges read:

That Wayland made the statement in the columns of the paper that those who went to the colony and performed any labor and afterwards decided to withdraw, would have "no recourse on him or on the association."

That he declared to certain persons, residents of this city (whose names are withheld by request), that he was the sole owner of the newspaper plant: that if the people who went to Tennessee would not co-operate according to his ideas of co-operation, he would buy up the land, own the whole thing and have them work for him or get out; and that this is in line with "his ideas of co-operation" in Greensburg.

That three competent and honorable men, Bros. Jno. Miller of Harrisburg, Pa; T. S. Russell of Chattanooga, Tenn., and G. K. Watt of Florida, who were among the original and most earnest co-operators, have, for reasons that to them were "good and sufficient," withdrawn from the enterprise.

That the business was badly managed and large sums of money recklessly wasted, as shown in the purchase of a useless and cumbersome Web perfecting press that would not print.

That last January D. C. Coates and Charles Bevan formed a partnership under the name of the Reform Literature Company, for the purpose of securing the distribution of reform papers among people unacquainted with our movement and principles. That this was done with Wayland's full knowledge and consent, and the time required to attend to it in no way infringed upon the "Coming Nation" business. But just as soon as the little business of this partnership began to show two or three dollars a week above expenses, Wayland, on the pretext that "other boys in the office were dissatisfied," compelled them to turn it over to him without compensation. And we declare that no such dissatisfaction existed.

Here are a dozen good reasons for our contention that there has been no co-operation; they range from fixed and abiding defects in character, through a cunning fertility of deceit, to perversion of truth, disloyalty to real co-operators and bad management. Any one of them is sufficient justification for our course in retiring. Be it understood, too, that we did retire voluntarily, after giving Wayland due notice of our intention. Notwithstanding this, he caused to be placed in our envelopes on the last pay day a "notice to quit." This was another proof of his natural meanness and a confirmation of our true estimate of his character.

The above character ends the principle part of the statement of A. S. Edwards as to why A. S. Edwards, David Coates, and Ed. E. Merritt had no use or confidence in J. A. Wayland on the eleventh day of August, 1894. We have quoted three and one half columns of their statement; two columns of subsidiary matter remain, which may be used as the subject matter of a future article. Although A. S. Edwards, after Wayland was put out of Ruskin Colonly and Edwards took the helm, resorted to practically the same methods of fleecing the credulous that Wayland had used, this conduct does not invalidate the testimony he gave in August, 1894, at which time we are willing to admit he was probably as guileless as a dove. A few months with Wayland fixed him though, and after a couple of years in the Ruskin Co-operative Association he had gotten down low enough in the scale of ethics to join the Debsites in their futile effort to wreck the Socialist Labor Party. And neither does this latter course of his invalidate the testimony he gave about Wayland in 1894. Wayland had quite likely wronged him, and he proceeded to tell what he knew about Wayland, and at this particular time when Wayland is boasting of his virtue and his love for humanity, and his desire for a spiritual rather than a material reward, and his consequent hatred of dollars and cents when these boasts are materializing anew, it is well to listen to the testimony of his business partner and associate editor of ten years ago. And that testimony is given in the above extracts from "Freeland." Read it, and then listen to this hypocritical statement in the "Appeal to Reason" for July 1. 1899:

"The bosses of the Socialist Labor Party have been steadily trying to drive me from my chosen work for humanity, a field that I work in without money and without price, and with no hope or desire of material reward."

The Socialist Press.

It may be gall to Mr. Wayland to know that the "bosses" of the S. L. P. care about as much about Wayland and his "Appeal to Reason" as they do about a potato bug in Austria. The enemies of the "Appeal to Reason" are in the rank and file of the Party, and in Washington the few subscribers to the paper are, with rare exceptions, men who don't know whether Socialism is a political movement, a religious movement, or new brand of ham sandwich. And so far as the members of Section Washington are concerned we never lose an opportunity to tell others that the "Appeal to Reason" is no good and that Wayland is a fakir of the most fakiry sort. And this position is a wise one, for in the Socialist movement the press is the most important machinery of the Party, and the editors of the press are nothing more than men who are engaged to manage the machinery. As the press is but the machinery of the Party, so the editors are but agents of the Party, and should be wholly under the control of the Party. St. Louis "Labor" objected to being "dictated to" and tried to do up the Socialist Labor Party, and it lies buried in the Potters' Field with not even a board to indicate its grave. The "Coming Nation" objected to the Socialist Labor Party meddling with its nefarious business of sailing its pirate ship on the sea of the Socialist Movement, so that eighteen months ago it, too, started out to wreck the Party, and to-day the "Coming Nation" is in the hands of a receiver who will "endeavor to put it on a self-sustaining basis." And now comes Wayland and his "Appeal to Reason" with the filthy trail of his chicanery stretching after him as far back as any one knows anything about him; with his paper spreading its economic rot wherever it goes, and he, too, starts out on the task of knocking the life out of the Socialist Labor Party. And to him we say, we are glad that at last we have smoked you out of your hole, and that about the wisest thing you can do is to put enough money in the bank to at least buy a respectable coffin after the Socialist Labor Party gets through with you, for the probability is that there wont be much more than a grease spot left of **J. A. Wayland.**

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

I find earth not gray, but rosy;
  Heaven not grim but fair of hue.
Do I stoop? I pluck a posy.
  Do I stand and stare? All's blue.

NOT ALL AMERICA, VLADIMIR; NOT ALL!

The Grand Duke Vladimir who superintended the recent butcheries of workingmen in St. Petersburg is indignant at the "exaggerations" of the foreign press, and, reproachfully looking at the correspondent of the Associated Press, asked why should all America point the finger of scorn at Russia?

The Grand Duke is in error. All America has not pointed and does not point the finger of scorn at his country. Though not many, still there are some quarters in this country whose pulse beats high for the land of Vladimir. They are not all heels-over-head enough to come out openly with their predilections. But some few are, at least one is. He is Mr. Thomas C. Quinn, the Editor of the New York "Daily News".

Surely not the most exacting Grand Duke, together with his most pious Gens. Trepoff and Cossack whip-wielders, could wish his country's virtues to be depicted in warmer colors than does Mr. Quinn, or could wish their methods to be done justice to in language more turgid. Mr. Quinn informs the American people through the columns of Mr. Munsey's wreck, otherwise known as the "Daily News", that "the Czar is a sovereign solicitous of the welfare of his subjects", that he is "far from being indifferent to the working class", that "of his own accord and without suggestion from anyone" he has given "serious and sympathetic attention to their needs"; that "the vast majority of the Russians are loyally attached" to the reigning dynasty; that Russia is ruled by a sort of entente-cordiale between the Czar and his cherished and cherishing people; that the workingmen who are now rising are a "riotous" lot and will never be able to overturn the glorious fabric of the glorious bureaucracy; that,—but the long panegyric need not be run through. It is enough to say that while Mr. Quinn does not suggest it directly, the suggestion is quite clear that he is not clear in his mind but that the Czar, the Grand Duke and the Trepoffs are re-incarnations of the heavenly hosts, who may at any time feel disgusted at the ingratitude of a carping world, take wings, re-ascend to heaven, and leave the workingmen of the world at large, of Russia in particular, to paddle their own canoes.

There are those who may see nothing wonderful in a Quinn's panegyrics on the Russian barbarians. They will recall that the gentleman is opposed to the facilitating of public school attendance by furnishing meals to the thousands upon thousands of children whose parents are too poor to feed them in condition to attend school; they will remember that the gentleman considers the streets to be good enough and proper playgrounds for the workingmen's children; they will remember that the gentleman and his paper sing the praises of the well-being of the American workingmen who are starved, and then shot down for protesting against the Vladimirian caresses bestowed upon them. They will remember all that. And they will remember another thing. They will remember that the Irish capitalist and bourgeois—who in America dispossesses his tenants as ruthlessly as any British landlord; who fleeces his workingmen, whether Irish or otherwise, as greedily as any capitalist; and whose one ideal is to get Ireland free from England so that he may get the whole hide of the working class of Ireland, now almost wholly appropriated by the British—is a flute on which England can play at will, and through which England can produce any political tune she pleases. If England toots a black tune of foreign politics, the Irish labor-fleecer whistle will emit a white tune and vice versa. All England has to do, in order to obtain from that whistle a certain tune, is to whistle the opposite. As England is now whistling the tune of "Japan", the Irish bourgeois whistle is emitting a "Russian" melody. To-morrow, when England may be cooing with Russia and looking daggers at Japan the Irish bourgeois whistle, will change its tune, whistle a Shintu melody and screech at Russia. Truly a talented posture that goes far towards explaining the wretched condition of Ireland and her working class.

If there is any comfort to be had from the Quinns, the Vladimirs may rest content.

HE DID "BORE FROM WITHIN."

The address, published elsewhere in this issue under the title "Third Explosion," and delivered by Robert Randell, a delegate from Wyoming to the late Indianapolis convention of John Mitchell's satrapy, called the "United Mine Workers' Union," is in more ways than one a classic document of historic importance. The address, as published, is taken from a copy of the type-written manuscript which Randell read and furnished to this office by Randell himself. It is authentic of what he said. We shall here touch only upon two of the many great lessons that the address teaches.

"Attack principles, not men!" is the plausible cry set up by the criminal interests who rule the land, together with their underlings, and which is ever echoed by the unthinking. The reasons why the Western coal miners were entrapped into the crushing and disgraceful defeat that they suffered, are graphically outlined by Randell. They had "faith in John Mitchell," they relied upon it that "the public would, as in the anthracite strike, force the coal companies to make terms with the union." How came these miners to "have faith in the broken reed of a John Mitchell? Whence did they derive the false idea that the anthracite coal barons were "forced to make terms with the union?" The one and the other fatal error came from the renown that the capitalist class had an interest in imparting to John Mitchell. It meant dollars and cents to them. It not only was a shield to them at the time of the anthracite strike, but it also was an earnest of future comforts. The glorification of John Mitchell at a time when he played the bituminous miners against their anthracite brothers, gave promise of a similar playing of one organization of labor against another at some later day. And that is just what happened. Praised by the capitalists, his praises echoed by the unthinking, vote-fishing so-called Socialist party, these praises carried to Europe by them and causing the European Socialist press to speak lovingly of "Comrade Mitchell"—all this made noise enough to deceive the Western miners, and to dump them where Randell now shows that they are dumped. A name at times becomes a symbol. It condenses principles. When these are dastard, the name must be attacked. Not to attack it is to afford the dastard principles a chance. "Personalities," accordingly, are among the primest of educational agencies. Had John Mitchell been thoroughly attacked and his conduct exposed, as the Socialist Labor Party alone did from the start, the Western miners could have been saved. But it is not too late.

This brings us to the second lesson taught by Randell's address. Compare the blows administered by Randell from the shoulder in the convention to the spineless twaddle of the "boring from within" brigade. Randell did bore. He bored in the only manner that stands the test. His boring threw the flashlight on Gompers or capitalist unionism, together with the satraps whom the capitalist class keeps up in these satrapies. He drew from them the proof that health from within is as much out of the question as music is from within a coyote.

FLASHLIGHT FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

People are sometimes apt to wonder at the vicious violence of the patriotism that some folks display towards the Socialist workingman. Socialism furnishes the general principle by aid of which the conduct of such adversaries may be surmised—their private interests. The exact reason, however, the exact nature of the "private interest" in each instance remains concealed. It is a feature of these "patriots" to keep their pockets dark. But now comes the Secretary of the Treasury, and, driven by the approaching spectre of Dame Deficit, makes a report suggestive of possible economies. One page in that report is worth all the others. It is the page that contains a tabulated list of the ports in which the customs expenses exceed receipts. The list furnishes the total receipts, the expenses (mainly salaries), the number of Government employees, and the cost of collecting one dollar at each of these ports. The list is worth studying. From it the fact transpires that the Government keeps 106 customs employees in 46 ports, in all of which it costs more than $1 to collect $1 of customs. The details are veritable eye-openers, little short of amazing.

The port of Beaufort, N. C., leads the list of wonders. There it costs the Government the snug sum of $973.73 to collect $1. How busy the two placemen are there held,—for which work they receive $1,509.23 salary—may be judged from the fact that the total annual receipt at the "port" is the vast sum of $1.55. The thought of two able-bodied men collecting a salary of $1,509.23 for taking charge of $1.55 is ludicrous enough to recall the account given by Artemus Ward of a Government mail coach somewhere in Indiana, manned by ten men, and gloriously rolling into town with the ten employees holding just five letters—two to each letter. The lowest port on the list, Oregon, Ore., costs the Government $1.03 for every $1 collected; $20, $30, $40 and even $50 expenditure to collect $1 are numerous. Annapolis, Md., entails an expenditure of $85.40 for every $1 collected, while Eastern, also in Maryland, comes nearest to Beaufort, by showing a cost of $119.20 for every $1 collected.

Does it need any effort of the imagination to picture these placemen, these pillars of "individuality" and their sponsors, red with rage at the "paternalism" of Socialism—the Movement that decrees that he who works shall live, and he who can and won't shall starve? Does it need any profound scientific knowledge to sound the depths and shoals of the "patriotism" flung at the Socialist's face.

J. A. WAYLAND AND HIS PAPER.

A man may make any slip. In itself a slip is not an unpardonable offense. It may arise from lack of information, or heedlessness. A man's greatest wrongs in the past may even serve as stairs for him to rise to a proper and pure life. But then he must RISE. The repetition of the wrong, however, the persistence therein, is an evidence of incurable turpitude. It would be wrong to hound a man and rake up the past if he has turned over a new leaf. But if he continuously returns to his vomit, then it is the proper thing to expose the past. His past, in such cases, throws light upon his present conduct, and his present conduct throws light upon his past. The duty of exposing such a reprobate becomes all the more necessary when his nefarious practices are indulged in, not on a strictly private field, but on the public and sacred field of the Labor or Socialist Movement. This is the case with regard to J. A. Wayland, the private owner of the "Appeal to Reason."

J. A. Wayland's incipient career of trying to Barnum the Socialist Movement has been persisted in. From one act of dishonor he has plunged into another. The man's motto seems to be old Barnum's—"the people like to be humbugged"—and he has stuck to it. From one fraudulent claim he has jumped to another—always with workers for his dupes; and, of course, being each time rapped over the knuckles by the Socialist Labor Party, his attitude towards the Party has been uniformly that of the hit viper—spewing venom. He is at it now. The reckless calumniator ever is the counterpart of the turpitudinous malefactor. His present conduct—at a time when the seething masses of the American working class are becoming a subject of alarm to the capitalist class, and when it is to the interest of this class to set suspicion afloat among the workers—is just what capitalism can want. He is playing the role of "the man of the furred cap" in Eugene Sue's superb historic story, "The Iron Trevet," that was recently published as a serial in the Daily People. Whoever is versed on the role played by such characters cannot fail to see "the man of the furred cap" in the ignominious Wayland when he, of all men, sneaks around the crowd declaring that the Socialist Labor Party is in the pay of the capitalist class.

To the loose, unsubstantiated assertions of this penny-catching reprobrate, we shall answer with facts, giving the gentleman's record from the time that he turned his sawdust-game mind upon the Labor or Socialist Movement. The first serial of facts appears elsewhere in this issue.

"The crying need of the Russian people, says Tolstoi, in an interview, "lies solely in the nationalization and communism of the land." This will not impress the Putiloff iron workers, as being complete. What will they and the workers in the great industrial cities, do with land alone? Their crying need extends beyond the nationalization and communism of the land to the nationalization and communism of capital. Tolstoi, like all the disciples of Henry George, stands on one economic leg, and is, therefore, easily knocked over.

Professor Cole's discovery of the sun spot would have some economic value if it were announced before the present international crises had occurred. It would then have given invaluable support to Professor Jevon's theory that panics are traceable to the spots on the sun. As it is, the discovery is badly timed and of none other than purely scientific and astronomical importance.

A STITCH IN TIME

Mindful of how important a piece of work the Socialist Labor Party performed for the clarification of the Movement in America when, now seven years ago, it quickly stamped out the bourgeois folly that the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation started to indulge in claiming, with the aid of comical statistics, that the Working Class paid the taxes, and that the tax upon the average family of the Working Class had been increased $100 by the Spanish War; —mindful of the value of the stitch in time taken then, we shall now hasten to take another stitch in time in what may otherwise prove to be another serious rend, again attempted to be cut by the identical Corporation in the fabric of Working Class education.

The "New Yorker Worker", the private property of the said New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation, says in its issue of the 5th instant:

> "It is not true that the capitalist system 'filches from the working class four-fifths of all that class produces.' This is a wild exaggeration, set afloat, we believe by the 'Appeal to Reason' on the basis of an utterly false interpretation of Commissioner Wright's 'Hand and Machine Labor'—an exaggeration that has done much to discredit Socialism among thoughtful people."

There is no exaggeration—wild or otherwise—in the statement; and if the "Appeal to Reason" contributed to give publicity to the fact, the act is one of the few bright spots in that publication—bright spots that consist in cribbing from Socialist Labor Party literature. It is substantially true that the capitalist system filches from the Working Class of America four-fifths of all that class produces.

If a coat, for the production of which the manufacturer pays the operative, say, $2, is sold by the capitalist to the retailer for, say, $10, it would be false reasoning to say that that particular workingman receives only one-fifth of his product, and that that particular capitalist filches the other four-fifths. In examining the reason of the error, the correctness of the Socialist position in the premises will become apparent.

Taking the above illustration—a purely imaginary one, yet correct enough for the purpose of illustrating the error of the contention that in such a case the particular worker receives only one-fifth of his product—as a basis, we find:

First—That the other $8 are not wholly that particular worker's product; or, to take the matter from another, and the supplemental, side, and which almost amounts to the same thing:

Second—That those $8 do not all fall into that particular capitalist's pockets as his private profits.

In order to simplify the problem, we shall assume that the particular capitalist in question does not need to borrow money from some other capitalist, on which he would have to pay interest, nor hire land, on which he would have to pay rent. We shall assume him to be a fully equipped individual capitalist. Even then the $8 do not go wholly into his pockets as his private property. A portion of those $8 fall under categories that are outside of "profit." These categories fall under several heads. The following three are the principal ones:

First—Taxes and other Government dues;

Second—The wear and tear of his plant;

Third—The cost of his raw material.

As to the taxes, they can not, it is true, be properly lumped with his profits because, for one thing, he can not keep them; for another, they are necessary expenses towards capitalist production. But, while the taxes are not profits available by the capitalist personally, they are a requirement of his class, and, as a member of his class, the taxes benefit him. Moreover, whence do these taxes proceed? They proceed from the unpaid wages of his employee. As far as the item of taxes is concerned, it is part of that particular worker's product that he is filched of, although the particular capitalist who employs him does not get the lump sum, and benefits by it only indirectly as a member of his class.

As to the wear and tear of his plant, a careful inquiry will reveal that it partakes somewhat of the character of "taxes," enough to illustrate the final point that we are aiming at. Wear and tear is predicated upon the amount expended by the capitalist in acquiring his plant. But from whom did he buy it? He bought from some other capitalist, who, in selling it, included in his price the unpaid wages, in other words, that part of the product of his workers that they were filched of. When the particular capitalist in question re-imburses himself for wear and tear, a part of that re-imbursement consists of values filched, though not by himself, from other workers. Accordingly, "taxes" and "wear and tear" differ in this: that, while, with "taxes," the plunder from the particular workingman falls to the benefit of the Capitalist Class at large, and not to the benefit of the particular capitalist, with "wear and tear", the amount taken to cover it does not flow from the filchings practiced by himself upon the particular workingman in the illustration, the amount flows in part from the Working Class at large.

Finally, as to the cost of raw material, that is identical with the "wear and tear" item. In the price that the manufacturer in question pays for his raw material, the capitalists, from whom he bought the materials, also included the unpaid wages, in other words, those portions of the products of their respective workers that these were filched of. Accordingly, the amounts which the capitalist in question takes from the sale of the coat to cover his cost of raw material do not flow from the pilferings practiced by himself upon his own workingman, the amount flows in part from the amount pilfered by the Capitalist Class at large, from the Working Class at large.

Summing up these items, making allowance for the pilferings on other workingmen than himself, and computing the direct pilferings upon himself, we would have the following approximate results:

First—The workingman, who made the coat that brings his master $10 at wholesale, and who received for his work only $2, was plundered out of $2.

Second—The $10 that his master receives contain $2 plunder from him which go to his master, and at least $2 more diffused over the shoulders of the Working Class at large, and that go to the Capitalist Class at large.

Third—The remaining $4 represent his employer's expenses for raw material, exclusive of that portion of the price that he paid for the raw material and which represented the unpaid wages of the workers employed by the sellers of the raw material.

While the above figures do not claim to be accurate to the cent, the principle upon which they are ascertained is undeniable, and the relative percentage upon which they are figured, though not subject to equal accuracy of measurement, are for all practical purposes exact.

From this it would appear that while the particular worker in the coat factory is plundered of only one-half of his own product, the plunder of the working class at large, his own share of plunder included, as represented in the $10-coat, is twice as large, to wit, $4. In other words, that $10-coat represents or contains a new value of the worth of $6, in producing which the Working Class received only about $3 (the particular coat-making workingman's own $2 and the proportional share of his fellow-plundered wage slaves).

This would represent two-thirds plunder—not yet, it is true, a four-fifths pilfering, but only a two-fifteenths removed therefrom. Even if the inquiry were to stop here, the claim that, to say "the capitalist system filches from the Working Class four-fifths of all that class produces" is a "wild exaggeration", which does much "to discredit Socialism among thoughtful people" comes perilously near being of a piece with the poisonous bourgeois language that sought to make it appear that the workers pay the taxes, and that furthermore sought, by the preposterous claim that the average workingman family's taxes had been increased $100, to scare the workers into line to remove the high taxes for the membership of a Corporation in which usurious money-lenders, city pluck-me-storekeepers, and other such petit bourgeois vermin had put their heads together. We shall show that the present claim made by the "New Yorker Worker" is absolutely of a piece with the former one made by the same Corporation. Equally untenable.

Returning to the illustration of the coat-making worker, the conclusions drawn were based upon the wholesale price at which the manufacturer sells his goods. The Working Class, however, has to buy at retail. Even under normal conditions, the Capitalist Class, as distributor, takes a solid chunk out of the workingman's wages. The profits raked by the retailing capitalist lowers the worker's share of his product and proportionately raises the percentage of capitalist plunder. To what extent are the two-fifteenths, left to be accounted for, affected? This may be difficult, if at all possible, to determine with accuracy. Can there be much, if anything, left of the remaining fraction of two-fifths, even under normal conditions? Hardly. At the present aggravated stage of all-around exploitation that the American Working Class has reached; at this stage, when the cost of living (retail prices) has risen, according to the report of the commercial agencies, fully 46 per cent. above the lowest figures for 1896, to say nothing of rent; at this stage, when wage reductions are general and the rises in wages admittedly illusory; finally, at this stage, when Senator Heyburn himself admits that the adulteration of goods (an equivalent of still higher prices) has reached the point that "it is sapping the foundation of the constitution of our people", and that "if we had to raise soldiers now as we did in 1861", we could not throughout the country "find as large a percentage of young men fit for hard service as there were at that time";—at such a stage, the declaration that four-fifths is a "wild exaggeration" of the amount that capitalism pilfers from the Working Class can proceed only, as it does in this instance, from bourgeois and labor-fakir sources—a "thoughtful people" among whom Socialism never was and never will be otherwise than "discredited."

Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan!

BROTHER JONATHAN.—I would hang them all!

UNCLE SAM.—Whom?

B. J.—The scabs; the idle workmen.

U. S.—Do you think there is rope enough in the country to do that? There are every bit of 5,000,000 of them.

B. J.—I am not joking; they are a nuisance; they are a pest.

U. S.—Where did these fellows come from?

B. J.—From—hem—from——

U. S.—Well, I'll tell you. The employers combine and set up joint affairs. Just as soon as they do that they don't need to compete any more with one another. So long as they compete with one another they need more establishments, and, of course, more hands. With fewer establishments, fewer hands are wanted. The hands that are not wanted go——

B. J.—On the street.

U. S.—Just so; they go into the army of the unemployed, and hunger may drive them to become scabs.

B. J.—Is that the cause of the unemployed?

U. S.—One of the causes. Here is another. Machinery and perfected machinery is ever bringing new streams of recruits into the army of idle workmen. The typesetting machine has thrown hundreds of typesetters out of work. In agriculture each patent binder throws nearly twenty men out of work; each cotton harvester throws out thirty-eight men, each steam plow throws out twenty-one men, and so forth; in the industrial field, each riveting machine throws out twenty-one men, each grain elevator on the Mersey docks throws out thirty-one, each steam roller with patent pick throws out from eighteen to thirty-eight men, the Owen Lehr machine in the glass industry throws out all the carrying-in hands, the machinery employed in the manufacture of agricultural machinery throws out 1,555 men—

B. J.—Stop! For heaven's sake, stop!

U. S.—Keep cool; I have only just begun. The "tumbler smoother" throws out three hands; each machine in the shoe industry throws out eight men, each stone planing machine throws out seven men and hundreds of them are now being thrown out of work in the stone yards by this new invention; in lace-making the machine throws out 2,000 women; in paper-making the machine throws out 140 hands; in weaving threads the machine throws out 1,099 hands——

B. J.—Stop! Stop!

U. S.—Have you got enough?

B. J.—Guess I have!

U. S.—Some of these people, thrown out by machinery, find employment in the building of new machinery, but not all. In the production of machinery itself, there is a displacement of twenty-five per cent. of hands. Thus the sea of idle craftsmen is fed by steady and swelling streams, while it is tapped by very slim outlets. Such, Brother Jonathan, is the effect of the capitalist system of production under which the machine, instead of being owned and operated by the people for their use, as we Socialists demand, is owned by private individuals for their private profit at the cost of the people's welfare.

B. J.—Then these machines——

U. S.—Hold; I am not yet through with your first argument. Yonder lies a man murdered with a dagger in his heart. Whom would you arraign before the courts, the dagger itself or the man who drove it?

B. J.—Why, the man!

U. S.—Who is the "nuisance," who the "pest," the dagger or the murderer?

B. J.—Why, the murderer!

U. S.—Whom would you hang, the——

B. J.—I give in, I give in; I made an ass of myself.

U. S.—The unemployed, aye, the "scabs" included, are the dagger wielded by the capitalist system to stab the working class with. They are the unconscious instruments of the capitalist class, and that is the criminal we should remove. The capitalists would like nothing better than to be left alone and have people wear themselves out [illegible] ing the effects of capitalist misrule. Every one, aye, the pure and simple trades unionists included, who do so much kicking against the "scab" and the unemployed, every one who does not labor to overthrow the capitalist system and rear the Co-operative Commonwealth, every one, who by pen, word or vote throws his weight into the the capitalist and withholds it from the Socialist scale—such is the real criminal today, a foe to himself, to his family, to his country, and tomankind.

The Wholesale Grocers' Association, in convention assembled at Hotel Astor, is the latest body of wealthy jobbers to feel the results of concentration. Its members are perfecting organization to meet the difficulties arising from manufacturers selling direct to the retailers. They will have a hard time overcoming them. Manufacturers nowadays not only find it necessary to sell directly to retailers, but also to become retailers themselves. The reason is not far to seek. Competition makes the control of distribution essential to the success of the manufacturer. Where distribution is not controlled by the manufacturer, competitors may enter with agreements or lower prices and cut him off from the market. Again, retail distribution through a thousand and one small men, is often so costly as to prove a barrier to successful sales and the industrial expansion dependent thereof. Hence concentration again becomes inevitable. Against such forces the wholesale grocery jobbers cannot prevail.

Watch the Church in Russia. Read the Holy Synod's call to the faithful. It makes Religion and Reaction one. History repeats itself.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

The injunction against the Beef Trust is a legal victory for the trust busters, no more, no less. Economically the Beef Trust is still intact and doing business at the old stand. Any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to make the legal triumph an actual one, will result in such an upturning of present economic arrangements as to cause widespread social disaster and defeat its own end. Society cannot go back to the production and distribution of the pre-trust days. Thus the Beef Trust will continue its career of concentration until Socialism supplants Capitalism. It will then be no more.

The increasing pressure of population, under capitalism, upon the earth's capacity for supporting it is discussed in the "International Quarterly" by Prof. N. S. Shaler, who occupies the chair of geology in Harvard University. The present number of the earth's inhabitants is computed at 1,600,000,000, and it is likely to increase hereafter, owing to the elimination of pestilence and chronic war, at a rate considerably greater than the average rate at which it has increased during the last three centuries. It is certain, on the other hand, that the quantity of tillable soil upon the earth, as well as the stock of other things necessary for man, such as iron, coal, petroleum, copper and other metals or minerals, is far from boundless. When will the demand threaten to exceed the supply? Prof. Shaler calculates that, as regards the earth's agricultural resources, the soil which, without any considerable work, could now be put under the plow would support in tolerable comfort about 4,000,000,000 human beings. These figures offer little consolation to the M [illegible] ian. Were the same resources [illegible] under Socialism, with its greate [illegible] and power of natural cultivat [illegible] this little consolation would n [illegible]

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

WHAT TRUE SOCIALISTS LOOK FORWARD TO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I look forward to the time when there will be only one Socialist party in the field; that is, when all the forces, none divided, merge into one class conscious, international, revolutionary body, marching onward to the Co-operative Commonwealth. As a Social Democrat I do not overlook the fact that the Socialist Labor Party embraces in its ranks the very cream of the Socialist movement, clear, revolutionary, Marxian, and uncompromising.

The division is deplorable, but, comrades, when the middle class is knocked out of existence, and the pure and simplers converted, it will only be a short while before there will be but one phalanx going forth to contend with the forces of Capitalism.

Fraternally yours,
Harold Burnett.

Victoria, B. C., Jan. 19.

THE STORY WAS BROUGHT TO THIS OFFICE BY A FORMER INTIMATE ACQUAINTANCE OF FORKER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A report got into The People that Max Forker, a former member of the S. L. P. had killed himself in Pittsburg. After investigating I find out that such is not the case. Forker was seen in Pittsburg last Thursday. As the rumor emanated in Pittsburg, and is not true, I hope The People will publish this contradiction, as we want to stick to the truth. Out of justice to all concerned, we would like to know where this report came from, as we could find nothing of it in the Pittsburg papers.

E. R. Markley.

Braddock, Pa., Jan. 30.

THE MOVEMENT IN MILWAUKEE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—There are at present a great many people out of work here, and, as a result of the overflow in the labor market arising therefrom, wages are being reduced all along the line. This, of course, is strictly in keeping with the logical workings of Capitalism.

Samuel Gompers was in this city the other day and while here addressed a meeting of his followers. What particular business, however, brought Gompers to Milwaukee, we really do not know. Was it probably that he had a conference with his fellow unionist, Victor Berger?

The trade union situation is critical at the present time. From all sides they are hammering the old form of trades unionism. Berger's great friend, Debs—"my disciple," says Berger, "this very man, who, through my own personal efforts has become a Socialist"—now this same man, Debs, is said to have signed his name to that circular which is not only against Berger's views, but also wholly issued without his consent.

Father Russ, of Cleveland, O., at the special invitation of Bishop Mesmer, is giving at St. Joseph's Church, a series of lectures against Socialism. It will be remembered that at the last election the Social Democrats invited Bishop Mesmer to join the respective ward club of the Social Democrats. The bishop most politely declined. The Social Democrats, however, thought the bishop could very well join their organization and vote for "Socialism," i. e., the Social Democratic ticket. Section Milwaukee, of the Socialist Labor Party, has never catered to priests, ministers, etc., for support, but has always fought them honestly and fairly.

Repeatedly have our Comrades told the members and friends of the Social Democratic party that their leaders were playing a game on them. That the bishop would not and could not join the forces of Socialism was clear to us, but Berger and Gaylord evidently thought: "Let us make such an influential man as Bishop Mesmer, our friend. Then we are sure of gaining seats in the United States Congress." As remarked before the bishop most politely declined.

Now the prediction of the S. L. P. comrades have been realized. Upon special invitation Bishop Mesmer has the priest, Father Russ, come to Milwaukee to create prejudice against So-
but th The Social Democrats ought to
slogans ore care next time.
geois de ing Father Russ, he surpasses
intimatel fanatical attempts heretofore
sap from o stem the tide of Socialism.
zation that s about a Rodin, but surely
talism; an e Russ of Cleveland, beats
like capitalism comes to creating preju-
ciple of compet and hatred among un-
the mask of "Org The efforts of the
keeps the bulk o ose Socialism shows
and disgraces the spectre of Socialism

(Continued

has become a menace to the Catholic Church. Light is breaking, even within that moss-covered structure.

The members of the Young Men's Socialist Club are doing good work nowadays, distributing our organ, the Weekly People, and leaflets at union meetings, with great success.

The Commune festival will take place in March. Elaborate preparations are already in progress. Comrade Minkley has again offered his services in the production of living pictures. Those who saw the last living pictures remember their beauty and educational value. As soon as programmes are ready it will be announced. It was our intention to rent the West Side Turn Hall, one of the largest in the city, but the date was already taken, so we engaged the New Bohemian Turn Hall.

Our Bohemian comrades are giving an entertainment and ball on Sunday, February 12, at "Freie Gemeinde" Hall, 260 Fourth street. A Hungarian Gypsy band will furnish the music.

It will be seen from the above that Section Milwaukee is not idle. B.

Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 21.

SPECIAL FUND.

As per circular letter of September 3, 1901:

Previously acknowledged	$9,486.01
Scott, San Francisco, Cal.	.25
T. Weilding, Butler Pa.	1.00
P. Walsh, New York City	1.00
W. P. Hainsworth, N. Andover, Mass	4.50
G. Herrschaft, Jesey City, N. J.	.50
H. Kaufer, Red Lake Falls, Minn	1.00
A. Vitak, Canton, O.	.50
J. Martin, City	1.00
H. W. Bodholdt, Sturgeon Lake, Minn	10.00
J. T. Walsh, San Francisco, Cal.	4.00
F. Herman, Lincoln, Neb. (Loan Cert.)	20.00
A. C. Park, Lincoln, Neb. (Loan Cert.)	20.00
J. Lidberg, St. Paul, Minn.	10.00
C. Bahnsen, Brooklyn, N. Y. (Loan)	5.00
E. Forbes, Yonkers, N. Y.	1.00
H. Jones, Yonkers, N. Y.	.50
E. M. Dawes, Montrose, Col. (Loan Cert.)	20.00
Section Hamilton, Ohio (Loan Cert.)	20.00
S. Langners, Milford, Conn. (Loan)	5.00
S. Hanrahan, San Francisco, Cal.	.18
	$9,611.44

CALL FOR PRESENTS.

The Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York will celebrate this year the usual Spring Festival by holding an entertainment and ball at Grand Central Palace, on Sunday, March 19, 1905. As in the past, the Women's Auxiliary Branch of the Party will arrange for a Bazaar and Fair in conjunction with this entertainment and ball, for which we need your hearty co-operation. Any object that will be donated by you will be sold and otherwise disposed of, the proceeds to go towards the Daily People

Comrades, that the Daily and Weekly People are the most effective weapons with which we can smite the oppressors and misleaders of the working class, need not be here emphasized. All of you who are readers of either one or the other understand this better than it can be told in writing. So understanding, it remains for you to aid our press to the highest extent of your ability.

Of the many ways of raising funds, the Bazaar and Fair, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary, is the most effective one. Here every little donation is profitably sold and disposed of, and, at times, double the market value is secured. We ask you, therefore, to send on as early as possible whatever object you can for this purpose. Anything is acceptable, from a small pin cushion to a richly embroidered pillow, and from any other small article to an expensive piece of furniture.

The donations are to be sent to L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan, New York.

L. Abelson, Organizer.

SECTION MILWAUKEE.

The next regular meeting of Section Milwaukee will be held Saturday evening, February 11th, at S. L. P. Headquarters. Every comrade should be present as business of vital importance will be transacted and every member's opinion is desired.

Frank R. Wilke, Organizer.

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

Owing to the lack of space, the serial "What Is Capital?" is crowded out this week. It will be resumed and continued in the next issue.

On the Chicago Manifesto

I.

From Arthur A. Prussak, Member S. L. P., New York City, Jan. 23.

The editor of The People having thrown the floor open for discussion, I desire to make a few comments on the Manifesto of the new national and international Trades Union, which is to be launched in Chicago on June 27, and what should be, in the writer's opinion, our attitude thereon. For the sake of brevity I will immediately proceed to dissect the document.

"Craft divisions," says the Manifesto, "foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory." But "an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party," as proposed, will not "foster political ignorance," because "no politics in the union" has fostered political education and "united the workers at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory." (Sic.)

"It" (the craft system) "is blind," the Manifesto states, "to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the products of which they alone will enjoy." But the proposed industrial union is not blind, therefore it intends to "establish" an industrial democracy "by having" no affiliation with any political party, although the party, mind you, may believe in its tenets. But, pray, how then will that "industrial democracy" be stablished? Surely the proposed union cannot be blind, for it says quite distinctly at the very outset that it isn't, yet it seems to have eyes and sees not that it is following in the footsteps of the identical unionism which it so vigorously denounces. And that is much worse.

"Craft divisions," the Manifesto continues, "hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system." Verily, craft divisions are responsible for a multitude of sins, but is the policy of "no politics in the union" as innocent as a new born babe? since it is upheld by men who are not "misleaders of the workers"—men who claim that they are not blind but fail to create the impression that experience has opened their eyes to any great extent.

"The craft system shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent upon the industrial battlefield," proceeds the document. And the new organization with its horror of politics in the union will, if given an opportunity, "render the worker helpless and impotent upon the political battlefield," as the American Federation of Labor has done and is doing.

Correctly does the Manifesto say that "previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action." Just so will this effort prove abortive because "no politics in the union" will "limit its scope and disconnect it in action."

"It" (the new union) the Manifesto declares, "should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class." Aye, another instance of "nobly waging the class struggle," but politics in the union, heaven forbid!

As boldly and unequivocally as the new movement comes out for Socialism, just so weakly and equivocally does it refuse to indorse a Socialist political party. I repeat it, it cannot be blind, yet it does not appear to notice its own—shall I say?—inconsistency.

Who is it thwarts and bilks the inward
must?
He and his works, like sand, from
earth are blown!

It is, in short, a pure and simple industrial movement and is not "founded on the class struggle" despite what its conveners may say. And who are among these conveners? Here is a brilliant trio. Ernest Untermann! A. M. Simons!! Mother Jones!!! Splendid company for comrade Bohn to be in! What should we have to do with them?

If the American Labor Union is a caricature of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, this is a burlesque or probably something worse of it. We have nothing to seek at their conventions. Let us steer clear of such "Explosions."

II.

From W. W. Cox, Member S. L. P., Collinsville, Ill., Jan. 26.

Before me is the Sunday People, with the Manifesto on the proposed new Trades Union. The first thing to be considered is, Shall representatives from the S. T. & L. A. be sent to this conference? This matter presents itself to me in the same light that the recent International Socialist Congress did when first called. And to not send representatives would be cowardly upon the part of the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P.

I am in favor of sending not less than six of the best men, three from the economic and three from the political organizations. Binding instructions should be given, similar to the instructions given our delegate to the Amsterdam Congress, except that there are no different countries with different economic conditions to be represented, consequently but one line of action is to be followed. And if this line is not followed by the new organization, our representatives are to withdraw and wash their hands of the whole affair, and prepare to fight the new organization. This line of action should be the continued affiliation of the economic and the political organizations. It is needless to repeat here reasons, for the the literature of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. is teeming with them.

It has been said that prejudice exists against the S. T. & L. A., and if a new union is started with a new name that the workers would join it. All right; if this be the reason which keeps them away start the new organization with the new name, but hold to the old principles and tactics. Prejudice existed at one time against the word Socialism, but now any old thing poses as Socialist. If a similar conglomerated mess would be gathered by the change of the name with a new organization, better hold to the old one, name and all.

It seems by the expressions of the Editor of the Daily People, in the issue of January 19, that he foresees a new organization. He says ten to one the A. L. U. will go up in the new organization; that, ten to one, will be the result from the conference that is to meet on next June 27.

Will the S. T. & L. A. go up too?

This is a time for sound, solid thinking. All that can be, must be done upon the part of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. to direct this conference aright, but in no case can we give up any part of the position taken by the two organizations since 1896.

Are we sure that this is not a trick to sidetrack the S. T. & L. A.? Failure has resulted through the bogus Socialist movement to sidetrack the revolutionary movement. Be careful, comrades.

Are we sure which, the political or the economic organization, is to lead the revolution to its final victory? Consequently we should keep them firmly knit together.

The bulk of this Manifesto is but a repetition of what the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. have been speaking for eight years, but like the S. P. platforms it kicks all the good over by contradictions. For instance: "Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box." Then this: "It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

Is the S. L. P. the only political party that represents the interests of the working class? We have unanimously said "yes"; then the new economic organization must be affiliated with it, or the S. T. & L. A. must stay intact and fight the new swallowed up A. L. U. that, ten to one, will be organized. We have a fighting chance, however. Let us do our best.

NORTH HUDSON OFFICERS.

Election of officers of Section North Hudson, N. J., S. L. P., took place at headquarters, cor. of Garden street and Bergenline avenue, on Feb. 2, at which the following were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer, Wm. F. Burke, 721 Jfferson street, West New York; Financial Secretary, Ernest Aiazzone; Recording Secretary, Wm. Theummel; People Agent, E. Aiazzone; Soc. Arbeiter Zeitung, Wm. Theummel.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS EVERYWHERE — Send platforms and constitutions of your respective Trades Unions. As complete a collection as possible is wanted at this office. Since last week's call, six responses have come in. Many more are wanted.

T. P. J., WICHITA, KANS.—The rumpus in your Kansas "Socialist" party does not belong under the head of "Volcanic Rumblings". The arrest of Prof. Will and his set for criminal libel is a natural enough and pleasurable enough evidence that character has not been wholly stamped out of the membership of an organization whose "Editors" and officials have these five years indulged in no means of combating an adversary other than blackguardism and calumny. It is pleasurable to see some of the members of such an organization start clapping these worthies on the criminal's dock. But that does not entitle the event to a place in our columns on "Volcanic Rumblings", or on "Explosions". We are ready to admit that the event must have been preceded or will be followed by decided "Rumblings" and "Explosions". But under these heads nothing belongs except events that denote an awakening in the so-called Socialist party camp to the soundness of S. L. P. teaching, and to the preposterousness of so-called S. P. twaddle and worse than twaddle.

S. S. R., LAWRENCE, MASS.—If you could spend a week in this office; see the vast amount of correspondence sent in for publication; and realize that this office is all along placed before the alternative of either cutting down the matter, or not publish it at all;—if you came here and saw all that you would not, then, be "displeased" at having been "shortened"; you would stir heaven and earth to raise the funds so as to enable us to issue a larger Weekly. Incidentally, your heart would soften towards us, and place us in the category of martyrs.

S. R. M.—CHEYENNE, WYO.—There's nothing like a dose of facts to separate the MAN from the WORM. The man will shake hands with the administrator of the dose. We recognize the man in you, and accept the proffered hand. The worm will become an implacable enemy and spew venom. We have made the latter experience also.

L. S. J., CHICAGO, ILL.—To reject Socialist economics is to admit a miracle. And you know that even people who admit miracles limit them to a time now passed. Even they do not admit modern miracles. Capitalism and its entailed consequences are modern events.

H. W, ONTARIO, CAN.—1st. Mr. Tommy Morgan of Chicago was once a member of the S. L. P. The organization was too "narrow" for him. It would not allow him to queer Socialism, and he Kangarooed in 1899. In the second of "The Pages from Roman History" (a pamphlet issued by the Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade street, this city) you will find the gentleman embalmed in cold type for all time. He is there introduced in a historic connection and in a role typical of the man and his kind.

2nd, The "Unity Convention" did not meet in Chicago, nor in 1900. It met in Indianapolis in 1901. The "unifiers" were the two warring factions of the now "S.P."—the Butcher, or Volkszeitung Corporation faction, and the Berger, or Chicago faction. The year before, the two factions had met in convention to nominate a ticket. The S. L. P. was not, and never has been at any of these conventions. The Volkszeitung Corporation faction, which partly had bolted and partly was expelled from the Socialist party, did, we believe, style itself the S. L. P. But the claim was too ridiculous for even that faction to hold. The claim implied the bizarre idea that a majority would bolt. Even the Corporation dropped such a Timbooctoo conception of things.

D. R., LONDON ONT.—The communication is safe in the hands of the N. E. C.

F. L., MANCHESTER, ENG.—Your quandary is easily explained. What is here known as "the Volkszeitung Corporation" element cares not a straw for the American Movement. In their ignorance and impudent conceit they think America incapable of "grasping Socialism", and, even if she did, "too corrupt to put it in practise". Hence all that they try to use the American Movement for is for a pedestal on which to pose towards Europe. Chew upon that.

T. A. F., WATERTOWN, N. J.—The S. T. & L. A. never was a hobby. It was the result of calm deliberation upon carefully ascertained facts. The trouble was that its adversaries never used arguments against it, but only calumny. That prevented the present field from being as clarified as it should be. But the "Wellington Square" never broke: it pounded away. And now, all is coming its way.

W. W., DOVER, N. H.—Bah! Bah!! Bah!!! The S. L. P. has an ORGANIZATION. It will get the signatures for its candidates to go on the official ballot in this State, easy as rolling off a log. And that means just so much more agitation. It may be news to you, but it is a fact: three years ago, the Editor of this paper actually ruined himself for life buying wax candles to burn to his patron Saint in order that the S. L. P. might get off the ballot that year, and thereby rid itself of the "official ballot-Socialist" barnacles. It got rid of them anyhow.

E. W. B., HENNING, MINN.—No need of further bothering on that line. Only keep the office posted should new matters arise.

A. C. F., NEW HAVEN, CT.—1st, We speak for America, not France. A Godin's familistere in America would be opposed by the S. L. P., as emphatically as all other co-operative schemes within capitalism are opposed by the Party.

2nd, As to the course of Socialism toward victory, the point will be found covered in this week's article "Socialism—Political". That answers also the subject of the strike.

3rd, A point implied in your passage touching the "experience" of the Unions to manage the nation's plants of production will be covered in the near future by an article, now in preparation (at least mentally) on "A Mission of Trades Unionism". Keep your eyes open for it.

SECTION LONDON, ONT.—Always send more than one circular, if for publication. Matter written or printed on both sides of the paper is inconvenient to handle by printers.

E. H., EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND—1st, We do not know who Robert Michels, the author of the article "The Dangers of the German Socialist Party", that appeared in the "Movement Socialist" and was translated in the "Edinburg Socialist", is. But if it is safe to judge of the gentleman's soundness, in matters on which we are not posted, from his soundness on matters on which we are posted, then we should conclude that the present German Trades Union Movement is, if not already on the level of the British pure and simple plan, then, at least, headed with a full head of steam in that direction.

2nd, The German Unions are, most of them, officered by members of Social Democracy. That would appear from Michels' article. From which it also appears that these officers are no better than the rank and file.

3rd, By the light of Michels' article we should say that the German Social Democracy is now falling below its duty—a natural result of their having neglected to inform themselves properly on American conditions. If German Capitalism has reached the point of capitalist "cleverness" to breed pure and simpledom, the German Social Democracy is utterly unprepared to deal with the issue.

4th, Not unless the Russian disturbances assume the proportions of a revolution, with the consequences indicated in last week's article "An Ominous Cry", is there the remotest chance of the Russian workers' emancipation through what is now going on there. All that is going on there now are the premonitions of a bourgeois revolution—with the workers, of course as food for cannon.

5th, The workers ARE used as voting cattle by capitalists.

(To People readers, in view of the above first three questions, the announcement should here be made that the Michels article will speedily appear in these columns).

H. F., CINCINNATI, O.—Is any "telos" necessary? Remember Laplace's answer to Napoleon.

E. B., COLUMBUS, O.—The S. L. P. has a German paper—the "Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung" published in Cleveland, O. Your matter has been forwarded thither.

E.J. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.; J. C. M., FALKIRK, SCOTLAND; SECTION NEW BEDFORD, MASS., S. L. P.; M. E. H., CHICAGO, ILL.; P. J., NEW YORK.; J. B., N. Y.; H. K., RED ADENA, CAL.; Wm. S., FALL RIVER, MASS.; G. O., NEW YORK.; F. F., HARTFORD, CT.; B. E., RED WING, MINN.; P. W., NEW YORK; A. O., NEW YORK; W. E. K., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; P. V., EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.; E. B., COLUMBUS, O.; F. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; E. F. S., ALBANY, N. Y.; F. L., ROANOKE, VA.; A. E., PORTLAND, ORE.; R. A. [illegible], LOUISVILLE, KY.—Matter received.

SWEAT SHOPS OUTDONE

KANSAS CITY PACKING HOUSES PLACES OF INDESCRIBABLE FILTH.

They Remind S. L. P. Organizer Frank A. Bohn, of Milton's Description of Hell During Satan's Absence—Minds of Employees Open to Conviction—Socialism and Unionism Appeal to Them.

Kansas City, January 28—One would imagine, after traveling through the interminable cornfields of Illinois and Missouri, with their innumerable flocks of wellfed crows, that the working class in western cities would fare better than in the East. Where farmers sometimes use their grain for fuel how can people go hungry? Millions of acres of untilled land would seem to make overcrowding in cities ridiculous. And yet, the workers of Kansas City suffer as intensely as those of New York. Between a job in a Kansas City packing house and an East Side sweat shop, give me the sweat shop. As both cities are supposedly ruled by one Divine Providence, so are both fed by one almighty food trust. The sun and rain favor alike the just and the unjust; and one inexorable law of wages gives to all workers their decreasing share of the world's goods.

A large number of young women are employed in the packing houses. There they breathe in the awful stench and work in the indescribable filth, listening to and echoing the fouler language and curses. Womanhood—manhood, if saved at all in such lives, is buried deep down and must be grappled for. I believe that no other place in America equals these pens where fate is kind to cattle and swine and permits them to perish. A peep into them reminds one of Milton's description of Hell during Satan's absence. Some one has said "Don't eat sausages until you see it made, then you'll never eat it." Twelve-and-a-half cents per hour is the wage of many of these people since the last cut.

The evening of our meeting at Armourdale, a Kansas suburb of Kansas City, was extremely cold, still quite a few were present. Their minds having been so lately opened wide to conviction, the subject of "Socialism and Unionism" seemed to appeal to them. The simple facts concerning the late strike, followed by a discussion of the deeper issues involved, was enough to draw every worker present (except one) close to the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. Five young men remained to an after-meeting and decided to take up the study of Socialism. Fortunately for me an incident which occurred at the close of my talk rendered it unnecessary to discuss "The Difference". The fellow whom I have mentioned as not interested in the subject under discussion arose and broke forth in a tirade against most everybody. The principle part of his noise took some such form as this—"We polled more votes than you. Why are you out talking when you have no business to?" This was shouted over and over again and punctuated with much vulgar language. As I had discussed principles only, and barely mentioned the existence of the S. P. I hastened to tell the audience that the man was not to be blamed; he represented the new "Socialist" party and was saying all that could be said against the principles and the party I represented. The brawler, a real leathery Kangaroo, by the way, represents that petty vote-getting politician element in the S. P., which has heretofore cut such a figure. With by far the larger part of the working class membership of their party in the West this element seems to be falling in disfavor. In fact, in some cities it faces the real danger of being dumped entirely. Hence the bitterness shown by them for the S. L. P. knows no bounds. For to it, instead of to the natural forces of evolution, they lay their troubles. Notable, indeed, is the fact that it was a discussion of the new trades unionism which drove this Kang into fits of frenzied rage. Nothing is more evident than that this very element of old S. L. P. renegades has been the mill-stone about the necks of the younger and developing element in the "Socialist" party. In 1899 the membership of the S. L. P. divided into two parts, one favoring real trades unionism as represented by the S. T. & L. A., and the other opposing it. When the Kangs joined the honest but undeveloped Western contingent in 1901, they were able for a while to keep them in the dark. "Socialist votes are what we want", they said, "they will bring Socialism." And the A. F. of L. delivered a few jobs and quite a number of votes. But the first of all truths is this, wrote Carlyle, "That a lie cannot endure forever." Today, in every city west of the Alleghenies, the S. P. is divided into two parts just as much as was the S. L. P. in 1899;

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 380, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

THE BOHN AGITATION TOUR.

The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, calls upon the members, friends and sympathizers of the Party to help sustain, by such weekly or monthly contributions as they can make, the work of agitation and organization now carried by Comrade Frank A. Bohn.

The organizer has now been on the road for quite some time and the experience made has been that the time is more than favorable for continuous, uninterrupted effort. The working class is in ferment, eager to learn and often hungry for our teaching. We must not withhold it from them for the sake of the few dollars it will take to conduct that work. Send in your dimes and quarters and dollars. Try to interest your friends and shopmates. Collect some money on paydays for this fund. Contribute small sums at regular intervals if you can, in short, resort to whatever method seems feasible and will bring results. Thus far the fund has done quite well, but it should be better. It will do better if more men and women take hold and help contribute and collect.

The volcano of the American Labor movement is rumbling and is often in eruption. We can help along and increase the pressure by increasing our activity, spread our press and literature, build up our organization, and furnish the means to do all these thing with.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. Henry Kuhn, National Sec'y.

BOHN DATES FOR COLORADO.

Denver, Feb. 16-23; Colorado Springs 23-25; Pueblo, Feb. 25 to March 3; Florence, 3-8; Delta, 8-10; Montrose 10-12; Grand Junction, 12-15.

Members and readers of the Weekly People take notice. Help to make Comrade Bohn's tour in this State successful in the fullest sense of the word.

Martin Hurwitz,
Acting Secretary, S. E. C.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the [illegible] ending with Saturday, February 4, the following amounts were received for the above fund:

Eugene Fischer, New York, (on 50 cents weekly pledge)	$1.00
J. F. Walsh, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
J. A. Larson, New Haven, Conn.	.25
Jos. Finkbohner, Philadelphia, Pa. (for Feb.)	1.00
[illegible] A. D, New York	1.25
Dave Hogan, Huntington, Ark., on campaign list 570	.10
G. M. S. Providence, R. I., ...	.24
Holger Schmalfus, Pittsfield, Mass. (on $1 monthly pledge)	1.00
A. Good, Brooklyn, N. Y., (on 25 cents weekly pledge	6.50
Christ Bahnson, New York	1.00
John J. Donohue, New York....	.50
M. Weinberger, New York (on 15 cents weekly pledge)	.15
Miss C. Weinberger, New York (on 15 cents weekly pledge) ..	.15
Total	$14.14
Previously acknowledged	$272.48
Grand total	$286.62

Note: In veiw of the result thus far ccomplished, it would seem that this nd deserves better support than has en forthcoming of late. There are a umber of states that have not been eard from at all.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held at 2 to 6 New Reade street, New York, February 6, 1905. Present, Bahnson, Eck, Crawford, Anderson, Walsh, Teichlauf, Katz, Lechner, Gillhaus, Kinneally and Hossack. John Donohue and W. F. Burke, who had not appeared at previous meetings, were present and signed the pledge to the Party.

Financial report: For week ending January 21, receipts, $53.07; expenditures, $110.00; for week endingg January 28, receipts, $95.87; expenditures, $41.79.

Election of officers reported by sections: Hamilton, O.; Richmond County, N. Y.; San Antonio, Tex.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Syracuse, N. Y.; Seattle, Wash.; Denver, Colo.; Providence, R. I.; North Hudson, N. J.

Correspondence: From General Organizer Bohn, reporting on his work at Moberly, Mo.; Kansas City, Mo., and Pittsburg, Kan. He reports much interest being shown in S. L. P. trade union literature since appearing of Chicago manifesto, and members of the Socialist Party and A. L. U. are glad to have some one explain the attitude of the S. L. P. toward the economic organization of the working class. From Edward L. McCoy, Bonners Ferry, Idaho, on membership at large; from Section Hoboken [illegible]sting that duplicate charter be given them as an expelled member had made away with the original. From a Marion, Ind., comrade advising that glass workers are discussing Chicago manifesto. From A. B. McCulloch, Secretary Virginia S. E. C. on member of N. E. C. From Providence, R. I., on matter of party endorsement for Italian paper there; from Wisconsin S. E. C. reporting election of Chas. H. Minkley, of Milwaukee, as member of N. E. C.; from California S. E. C. sending credentials and pledge of Olive M. Johnson as member of N. E. C. Section London, Ontario, reports expulsion of F. J. Darch, for treasonable conduct in accepting nomination for public office at hands of a capitalist party. Missouri S. E. C. reports organization of new committee. T. F. Dugan, miner, of Bisbee, Ariz., sends application for membership. Michael T. Berry advises that he will go to Cape Breton on S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. agitation work if Canadian comrades will arrange. From Massachusetts S. E. C. and Sections Philadelphia and Braddock on routine matters.

Action on matter brought before the committee; Duplicate charter granted to Section Hoboken; National Secretary instructed to advise inquirer how S. L. P. endorsement may be secured for Italian paper, viz., by vesting ownership of the paper in the Party. T. F. Dugan admitted as a member-at-large, if application is amended.

Committee of Agitation recommend the adoption by all State committees of the Correspondence Bureau method of opening up new connections. Where thoroughly tested this plan has been found productive of good results. Instructions how to go about it will be given soon. On Ways and Means of furthering agitation, the committee found that some States have not contributed to the Bohn tour; as this is a national affair contributions are expected from every State. The Agitation Committee's recommendation were concurred by the Sub Committee.

The Committee on Party press find that a lack of funds is holding back the publication of several important pamphlets and books. The committee sees no other way out at present than by a wider organization of the Press Security League. Many Sections are not represented at all, while some are falling behind. The committee advised that a statement showing the present status of the League be sent to all Sections. Considering the value of the Pilgrim's Shell and Woman Under Socialism orders are not coming in as they should. Every party member should study these two books; they are not for the "heathen" alone. The committee further recommended that the editor of the People be instructed to close the Bulgaria-Italy discussion with the publication in the Daily of such articles as are now in hand and to close their publication in the Weekly with the issue of February 18. Enough has been said upon the subject to show the trend of thought upon it and space is needed for other discussions given rise to by the Chicago Manifesto. It was also recommended, that hereafter, on all topies thrown open for general discussion, articles should be limited to 500 words. Contributors should consider that others may desire to be heard. The recommendations of the Party Press Committee were concurred in by the Sub Committee and on these and agitation matters the active support of the Party is needed to make the work successful.

During the session of the committee George O'Hanrahan, of San Francisco, bearing credentials from the Marxian League of that city appeared, and gave some informatffiion as to the conditions on the Pacific Coast. He is a member of a body comprised of workingmen who broke away from the dominion of the Kangaroo grafters in the Socialist Party there. The Marxian League is studying S. L. P. literature and they dispose of 150 copies of the Weekly People each week. He says the wage workers are getting on to the middle class character of those running the S. P., whose chief use for the workingmen in the Party is to utilize them as newsboys to sell trashy literature, while the grafters pocket the profits.

As soon as all the members of the N. E. C. are announced, the National Secretary will prepare a list of their names and addresses to be sent to each member, so that they can communicate with one another on party matters.

The Sub Committee wishes to announce that nothing will be left undone by it to further the interests of the movement, but efforts here will be ineffective unless given the unflagging support of the Party organization. The committee bespeaks united action in support of the measures it initiates.

JOHN HOSSACK,
Recording Secretary.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Meeting January 28, at headquarters, Daily People Building, 2-6 New Reade street, New York city. Moren in chair. Wegner and Ferguson absent. Minutes of previous meeting accepted as read.

Semi-annual reports received from Sections Syracuse, Scandinavian, Troy and Richmond. Received. Secretary instructed to compliment Sections on showing made and to point out where improvements should and could be made. Election of officers were reported by Sections Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo.

Communications:—From E. Leske, Congers, N. Y., asking for "Arbetaren" sample copies. Complied with and referred to Correspondence Bureau. From A. M. Offen, on prospects of organization at Palmyra, N. Y. Secretary instructed to act, in conjunction with Organizer Trainor of Section Syracuse.

Comrade A. Zimmerman was instructed to confer with Comrade C. C. Crawford and Max Rosenberg on work of Correspondence Bureau. Zimmerman and Rosenberg will succeed Crawford, who resigns, owing to the exactions of his occupation.

Secretary was instructed to write a New England comrade regarding a tour of the State early in summer. The question of starting a State agitation fund was considered and laid over.

Draft of letter on notaries, by Comrade Kuhn, was accepted and ordered sent to the Sections.

Section New York submitted the following nominations (with vote received) for member of N. Y. S. E. C.: H. Kuhn, 162; A. C. Kihn, 157; J. Ebert, 156; A. Gillhaus, 156; T. Walsh, 153; A. Moren, 142; H. Deutsch, 105; E. Pearson, 103; M. Lechner, 102; C. Olson, 102; S. Mummery, 101; P. Augustine, 91; E. Moonelis, 89; E. Archer, 87. Received and Secretary ordered to send out a call for a general vote.

Adjourned.

Justus Ebert, Secretary.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Call for General Vote on Nominations for Member of State Executive Committee.

Sections in New York State are herewith called upon to take a general vote on the following nominations for member of New York State Executive Committee, submitted by Section New York:

	For	Against
H. Kuhn	....	....
A. C. Kihn	....	....
J. Ebert	....	....
A. Gillhaus	....	....
T. Walsh	....	....
A. Moren	....	....
H. Deutsch	....	....
E. Pearson	....	....
M. Lechner	....	....
C. Olson	....	....
S. Mummery	....	....
P. Augustine	....	....
E. Moonelis	....	....
E. Archer	....	....

For vote polled in Section New York by each of the foregoing nominees, see minutes of the N. Y. S. E. C. in the Weekly People of February 11.

The seven of the above nominees receiving the highest vote from the membership throughout the State will be elected the State Executive Committee. The seven nominees failing of election, will fill vacancies on the State Executive Committee as they arise, in the order of the vote polled by them: the nominee receiving the highest vote filling the first vacancy, and so on down the list.

Sections are requested to use above blank in voting. Vote will close on March 11.

Fraternally,
N. Y. S. E. C.,
Justus Ebert, Secretary.

S. L. P. LECTURES.

Boston—At headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, corner Ruggles street. Sunday, February 12, 8 P. M. Subject, "Child Labor," by Wm. B. Carroll. Admission free.

Brooklyn—At Capital Hall, Manhattan avenue corner Varet street, Friday February 17, at 8 P. M. Subject, "Statistics on the Prosperity of the Working Class," by Daniel De Leon, editor of The People. Admission, 10 cents.

Brooklyn—At Liberman's Hall, 113 Moore street, corner Humboldt street, Saturday, March 4. Subject, "The Necessity of a Working Class Movement," by Timothy Walsh. Admission, free.

New York—At Clark's Hall, northwest corner 25th street and Eighth avenue, Sunday, February 12, 8 P. M. Subject, "Everyday Illustrations of Socialist Teachings," by James Connolly. Admission, free.

Paterson—At Helvetia Hall, Sunday, February 12, 3 P. M. Subject, "Trades Unionism, New and Old." Admission, free.

TO SENDERS OF NOTICES.

Senders of notices are requested to observe the form in which such notices are appearing and should prepare their notices accordingly.

APPEAL

Of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia.

(Translated from the French by Gotthold Ollendorff.)

Geneva, Jan 26, 1905.

Comrade:—The Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia addresses to you the below manifesto with the request that you open a subscription list for the benefit of the fighters of the revolution, and of its victims.

Money should be sent to M. P. Axelrod, No. 4 Boulevard du Pont d' Arve, Geneva, Switzerland, for the Central Committee.

The General Committee, Social Democratic Party of Russia.

TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD!

Comrades:—The date of January 22, 1905, is now engraved upon the pages of history; for on this day the Russian Proletariat valiantly arose against Absolutism. To-day, perhaps, the Proletariat may still be vanquished, but tomorrow it will be the victor. In its victory only lies the salvation of the Russian people—the salvation of Russia, weakened, humiliated, reduced to despair by a pitiless government.

For a whole century freedom and civilization have remained the unattainable ideals of the best men of an enslaved country. Many of those, who battled for freedom have perished under the blows of the Autocrats of the Winter Palace.

Czarism, resting upon the backs of millions of slaves without rights, upon the corpses of famished workingmen and farmers, by stamping under foot nationalities, has erected its hegemony over civilized Europe. It is the prop of reaction and of national strife. The struggle against Czarism, its annihilation, has become the struggle for European civilization against barbarism. It is the final part of the task bequeathed to the world by the great revolution. Hundreds of thousands of members of the higher Russian classes have vainly endeavored to accomplish this historic task—a long struggle has not been able to shake the regime of the knout. Absolutism has carried to the extreme limit cruelty and cynicism in its persecution of ideas. Literature muzzled, authors ever menaced by prison and by exile, science enchained, the university in the hands of the police, the few schools in the power of superstitious priests, famine, epidemics in the country, despair among the suppressed nationalities—such is the result of Czarism.

The world has gazed in horror upon the workings of Czarism in Finland, and at Kishineff; and what Absolutism has done in Finland it has not ceased to do in Poland, in Lithuania, in Siberia and in Caucasia. And when the people of St. Petersburg presented the claims of the whole of Russia, they were treated still worse.

In an imposing and peaceable demonstration, the people, led by the revolutionary proletariat, and leading in their turn honest members of the upper classes, demanded of the Czar the convocation of a conciliation assembly. This demonstration the Czar answered with gun and cannon balls. Children, laborers, students, citizens, priests, have been killed. The armed force, incapable of defending the country against the foreign enemy, is brave enough to massacre and to trample under foot the women and children of their own land!

This unheard-of massacre the Proletariat of St. Petersburg has answered with the cry:

"Death to Czarism!" "Death to Czarism!" to-morrow will respond the whole of Russia. The news of the happenings in St. Petersburg have already led to labor demonstrations in other towns.

The Social Democracy of our land will use all its energy to spread the movement, started in St. Petersburg over the whole of Russia.

All the revolutionary forces believe that the "coup" of the 22nd of January has been fatal ot Czarism. And even if reaction should be able to stem the movement for an instant, it will recover its ground with new force.

The civilized world cannot indifferently regard what happens in Russia. In civil war and in blood Czarism will pass the last days of its existence.

The citizens of free lands cannot be inimical to the liberty which traces its way across the horrors of barbarism. The world knows now that Czarism strives to prolong its agony by leaning solely upon the bayonet. But this regime is a political adventure—a menace to the whole world.

Upon the altar of civilization and liberty the Russian Proletariat places its victims.

Citizens of free countries, help the Russian people! Those who battle for Russian liberty do it not for this alone, but for freedom the world over.

They expect that in this decisive, dangerous hour, you will not refuse support.

Down with absolutism!

May the scorn of the civilized world rest upon it!

Hurrah for the Russian people!

Down with the barriers erected by reaction between itself and free humanity!

Long live the Russian Revolution!

Long live the Russian Proletariat!

The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. For the Party: G. Plekhanoff, P. Axelrod.

N. Ptoroff, delegate of Central Committee.

Vera Zassoulitsch, of the Party organ "Iskra."

Leo Deutsch, of the foreign league of the Russian Social Democracy.

SWEAT SHOPS OUTDONE.

Continued from page 5.

those opposing and those favoring real labor unions, such as the S. T. & L. A.

In Kansas City a local of the S. T. & L. A. was started and plans made for a vigorous educational campaign. Quite a few non-members of the S. L. P. joined or promised to join. Several new members were also taken into Section Kansas City. As this increase is due to the steady work of the membership, it is of a solid nature.

I cannot close without describing a somewhat extraordinary experience. In Kansas City I found an honest business man. Borrowing a technical term from sociology, I would call it a genuine case of atavism. The peculiar individual, with his wife, runs a small vegetarian restaurant. Here, for twenty cents, an excellent meal may be secured without risk of being poisoned. This is explained by the fact that these people belong to some small religious sect which still teaches that one "should do as he would be done by". As yet the capitalist police have left them undisturbed.

Going in one bitterly cold morning I saw, hanging on the wall, one of those old fashioned inscriptions which read: "The Lord will provide."

"Yes," I exclaimed, "yes, so it is. The Lord provides so abundantly for J. Ogden Armour that the chances are I could not get a piece of meat this morning if I wanted it."

"I fear that the young brother is somewhat rebellious against the rule of Divine Providence," came the soft answer from Mrs. Seventh-Day Adventist. "We are all reaping the rewards of our folly. It was never intended that men should live in cities. You have read what became of the first cities, of Babel and of Babylon. If people would only remain in the country where the Lord intended they should stay, we would have no bad trusts nor labor unions, nor wickedness."

Sometimes we hear Socialists say that individualism, as a system of thought, was concocted by the capitalist philosophers of the French Revolution; that with this system the French capitalist intended on the one hand to fight feudalism, and on the other to defend capitalist exploitation. But the words of this hard working religious enthusiast of Kansas City sound exactly like those one reads in early New England sermons and diaries. The individualist conception of society, with the political democracy it implies, was not born in the French Revolution, nor yet in the American Revolution. As a system of thought, it has its roots deep in the Italian Renaissance, when the nobility were overcome by the commercial capitalists of the Italian cities. This view of life was worked over and adopted to the needs of the English middle class Puritan. It came to America with the Pilgrims in 1620, hidden under a mass of ideas drawn from Biblical literature. With such theories, therefore, political life in America began. Free land furnished the economic basis for its perfect fruition. When the S. L. P. speaker mounts his soap-box, therefore, he does not find the revolutionary spirit second nature among his hearers, as in France. He is up against the traditions, customs and social ideals ingrained in the flesh and bone of these people for some two hundred and eighty years. And there's the rub. It takes time for the American, in the new role of wage worker, to exchange the social ideals of his country for those of his class.

Frank Bohn.

THIRD EXPLOSION.

Bundle orders of this issue of The Weekly People are expected. An extra large edition is printed that we may fill these orders. Randell's arraignment of Mitchell and the conduct of the U. M. W. of A. has a great agitational value. We trust you will make good use of it by giving this issue of Weekly People a wide circulation.

WEEKLY PEOPLE.

ATTENTION!

Wage workers residing in Greater New York and vicinity, desiring information about the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance can get same by writing to the organizer of D. A. 49, L. M. Wieder, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and eighty-five subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, February 4. This is good. Make it better! A more favorable opportunity to increase the circulation of The Weekly People never existed. Why not take advantage of it? Order a bundle of papers, distribute these each week among your circle of acquaintances and keep after them to become subscribers. Every one can do this.

This idea is growing. Daniel Emery, of Lowell, Mass., orders five copies a week; Peter Jacobson, Yonkers, N. Y., ten a week; John Stewart, Falkirk, Scotland, ten copies for six months; K. Georgevitch, of Schenectady, N. Y., renews his order for five a week. The Marxian League of San Francisco increases its order from 100 to 150 a week. Rates for small bundles are as follows:

5 copies, 3 months..............	$0.65
5 copies, 6 months..............	1.30
5 copies, 1 year..................	2.50
10 copies, 3 months..............	1.30
10 copies, 6 months..............	2.50
10 copies, 1 year..................	5.00
25 copies, 3 months..............	3.25
25 copies, 6 months..............	6.25

Large bundles:

100 copies or over, 3-4 cents a copy.
500 copies or over, 1/2 cent a copy.

Get in line. Order a bundle of papers.

Five or more subs. were sent in as follows: J. B. Dillon, Marion, Ind., 20; Fred Brown, Ceveland, O., 17; Utica, N. Y., 15; C. C. Hall, Roseburg, Ore., 13; Geo. Rigby, Fall River, Mass., 10; 34th A. D., New York, 11; C. Schmidt, New Haven, Conn., 7; Dyer Enger, Ashland, Mass., 7; Walter Goss, Belleville, Ill., 7; Indianapolis, Ind., 6; Jas. Doyle, Louisville, Ky., 5; Paul Mueller, Brooklyn, N. Y., 5.

On the three-months subscription fund $7.60 was received, $15.60 used up, leaving a balance on hand of $200.55.

Give the Daily People a trial. Three months $1.

The Weekly People of February 18 will contain two additional pages. The contents will make this eighe page Weekly People worthy of widespread circulation.

Make next week's subscriptions to the Weekly People four hundred!

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

A new issue to push. "The Gold Sickle" and "The Infant's Skull" are ready for delivery. A knowledge of this story of the struggling classes is of untold value to the workers, and Sue's stories teach the essentials of that history in the most excellent manner. Comrades everywhere should grasp these points, and push these books. They are in splendid type, well bound, and first class in every respect. Make it a point to get at least one copy of each in every section, AT ONCE.

The week's business was very good.

Paterson, N. J., ordered 50 "Burning Question of Trades Unionism" and 100 other assorted pamphlets. Hartford, Conn., 50 "Burning Question"; San Francisco ordered 175 pamphlets. San Pedro, Cal., took $7 worth of assorted literature.

St. Louis, Mo., took 6,000 leaflets. Boston, Mass., ordered 50 pamphlets, assorted. The Workingmen's Educational Club of Minneapolis, took $3.30 worth of assorted literature.

Cleveland, Ohio, took 25 "The Pilgrim's Shell", and 10 "Woman Under Socialism". Buffalo, N. Y., bought 2 "The Pilgrim's Shell", 5 "Two Pages From Roman History" and several other pamphlets.

Push "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" and "Two Pages From Roman History". Push the Eugene Sue stories.

SECTION OFFICERS.

Section Onondaga, N. Y.—Organizer, James Trainor; Recording Secretary, J. R. Ryan; Secretary Treasurer, Wm. McArdle; Trustees, E. I. Montagne, MCAllister and Purnell.

Section Roanoke, Va.—Organizer, H. D. McTier; Recording Secretary, James F. McTier; Financial Secretary, W. T. Welsh; Treasurer, J. P. Goodman. Literary Agent, Ed. Smith.

Section San Antonio S. L. P. at the regular business meeting held January 1, 1905, elected the following officers for the ensuing term:

Organizer, Karl Spahr; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Robert Strach; Recording Secretary, J. V. Kendall; Grievance Committee, A. T. Mills, O. Schuttel, Frank Leitner; Literary Agent and Agent for The People, Frank Leitner; Agent for Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, Karl Spahr.

DR. H. S. ALEY.

Whereas, By the death of Dr. H. S. Aley, Section Denver in particular and the Socialist Labor Party in general, have lost from their midst a comrade known the country over for his faithful support of the party's principles, and

Whereas, His death has brought sorrow to his family, friends and comrades, therefore be it

Resolved That we the members of Section Denver, Socialist Labor Party, do deeply deplore the above comrade's death untimely to the cause he held so sacred and that we extend to his bereaved family our heartfelt sympathy, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the deceased comrade's family, that a copy of the same be spread upon the minutes of the Section, and published in the official organ of the party, the Daily and Weekly People.

Martin Hurwitz,
O. Ohman,
Mrs. V. Otis,
Committee on Resolutions.

Denver, Colo., Dec. 27, 1904.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street. Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Chicago, Ill., S. L. P.—Section Headquarters, 48 West Randolph street. Business meetings 2d and 4th Friday of each month.

Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meets in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workingmen cordially invited.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited Business meetings every Tuesday.

Meetings (each month) first and third Tuesday night, at 29½ South Del. street third floor, Indianapolis, Ind.

SECTION OFFICERS.

Denver, Col.—Organizer, Geo. Willrich; Recording Secretary, Victor Meier; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Geo Wiilrich; Agent for Party Press, A. Ohman; Literary Agent and Librarian Howard Tryon; Auditing Committee, V. Meier, A. Ohman, and Mrs. V. Otis; Grievance Committee, C. F. Leach, A. Zappe and J. Michaels; Entertainment Committee, G. Willrich, M. Hurwitz, A. Ohman A. Zappe, V. Otis and H. Tryon; Application Committee, A. Ohman, M. Hurwitz and J. Michaels; Headquarters Committee, G. Willrich and V. Meier.

WAKING UP IN BRADDOCK.

Members of L. A. 356, S. T. & L. A should be on hand Tuesday evening to get in trim for a good campaign among the workers in the vicinity of Braddock Pa. The workingmen are waking up as they never did before

ORGANIZER.

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